

University of Helsinki
Finland

“March from the Age of Imitation to the Age of Creation”

Musical Representations of Japan in the Work and Thought
of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei, 1930–1940

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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Abstract

Japan in the 1930s was a culturally complex land combining various syntheses and juxtapositions of Western and Japanese culture and thought. After decades of enthusiastic adoption of Western culture and technology, Japanese society turned to a reevaluating of traditional culture. This trend was also seen in the arts, and music was no exception. One phenomenon that perfectly exemplifies the cultural contradictions of Japanese tradition and Western modernity is Japanese-style composition—here defined as music based on Western principles of composition but adopting elements from traditional Japanese music and culture—which became a notable and debated new trend among Japanese composers in the late 1930s.

The main objective of this thesis is to understand Japanese-style composition as a phenomenon in the complex musical and social sphere of the 1930s: what it was musically, why it emerged, and how it related to the social developments of the time. To accomplish this, the present study discusses the Japanese elements in the musical work and thought—as encountered in their writings and interviews—of the founding members of the composer group Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei (Federation of Emerging Composers), founded in 1930. Several previous studies have recognized these founding composers as the frontline of both modern expression and Japanese-style composition in Japan at that time, but this thesis is among the first to discuss them in detail and to examine the trend of Japanese-style composition as one example of the general traditionalist trends of the period.

By adopting Carl Dahlhaus's structural study of history and the examination of musical works in their socio-cultural context, this thesis discusses the works of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei as musical discourses that convey the ideas and values of their time—both artistic and social. The approach is linked with studies emphasizing the “imaginary” and constantly changing nature of culture and nations. From this perspective, the thesis does not claim to recognize that which *is*, but which *has been thought of as being* Japanese. Thus, the adoption of Japanese elements is approached as a form of expression intentionally chosen by the composers, and identifying these musical elements—a procedure for which the thesis proposes a methodology—is considered to be the first step in enabling more contextualized analysis. The analysis focuses on four composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei, due to their markedly different approaches to Japanese-style composition: Mitsukuri Shūkichi (1895–1971), Kiyose Yasuji (1900–1981), Hashimoto Kunihiro (1904–1949), and Matsudaira Yoritsune (1907–2001). Other founding members are also discussed, albeit more briefly.

The results of this thesis suggest that Japanese-style composition in the 1930s was not a monolith, but followed various viewpoints and approaches. Not only did the use of Japanese elements result in different kinds of musical

approaches, but the motivations to adopt them ranged from the defense of the traditional Japanese way of life to the pursuit of the modernist aim of developing and renewing expression in Western-style music. These results suggest that prewar Japanese music introduced significantly more versatile viewpoints into Japanese-style composition than has been recognized to date—including even the use of relatively modern compositional techniques such as microtonality as a “Japanese element.”

Despite the rise of nationalism in the 1930s, the work and thought of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei does not support the view that Japanese-style composition, as a rule, expressed ultranationalism—although examples of that exist as well. Rather, the musical approaches adopted by each composer merge with the discourses of the time related to traditionalism, modernism, and nationalism, and reflect the confusion between Japanese and Western culture apparent in Japan of the time. Even in cases where the composers discussed Japanese elements deceptively as purely artistic expressions, many musical works also suggest that Japanese-style composition represented the expression of a Japanese identity in the context of Western-style music. From this perspective, both the musical and written works of each composer end up reflecting and constituting the social and cultural issues of their time.

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1 Introduction

The 1930s marked fascinating, yet turbulent times for Western art music composition in Japan. The whole decade was characterized by cultural and political contradictions, both of which also emerged in music. Simultaneously with rising nationalism and stormy changes in Japanese society—a dramatic course of events that eventually led to Japan’s participation in World War II—Japanese music was also revolutionized in a relatively short period of time. Not only did the 1930s see the emergence of a young generation of composers interested in new European styles, and a shift from small-scale vocal works to instrumental music for larger ensembles, one of the most heatedly discussed topics toward the end of the decade was creating original, markedly Japanese expression in musical works. Taking the viewpoint that Japanese culture is fluid and in constant change, this thesis focuses on two decades, namely the late 1920s and the 1930s, to understand what was taking place in the musical sphere of the time, and how and why the concept of “Japanese” was expressed in music.

Against an examination of the background in which Western culture was adopted in Japan beginning from the mid-nineteenth century, it is not an exaggeration that various contradictions were inclined to eventually burst out by the 1930s. Japan was virtually shut off from the rest of the world for nearly two and a half centuries, until Commodore Matthew C. Perry arrived with his “Black Ships” in 1853 and pressed the country to establish diplomatic relations with the United States. When this happened in the following year, the US was soon followed by several European countries. These early years already introduced Western influence, but it was the Meiji restoration of 1868 that fully launched the influx of Western culture—including music—into Japan. The country was now remodeled as a modern nation-state after Western practices, meaning, for example, the establishment of a modern parliament and legislation (e.g. Takii 2014), but also the adoption of Western culture and technology. This started as a project of the elite, but the public also began to indicate a genuine interest in Western culture in the 1910s (e.g. Tsukatani 1976). This process was characterized by an almost unchallenged enthusiasm and will to follow Western examples.

Eventually, however, this enthusiasm was replaced by doubts about the prestige and supremacy of the West. This led to a counter-reaction of reevaluating Japanese culture—which had been largely neglected in the process of Western modernization—and resulted in radical changes that became impossible to ignore by the 1930s. The consequent rise of aggressive nationalism during that time was an outcome of several complex factors and unfortunate events that involved the process of rapid modernization, a series of recessions, and Japan not being treated equally by Western nations in the international community. These phenomena led simultaneously to a

revaluation of Japanese culture and an aggressive attitude toward the West.¹ An alarming sign of the rise of nationalist militarism took place in 1931, when the imperial army invaded Manchuria—without orders from the central government. The subsequent developments led to several acts of political terrorism, the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937 and, ultimately, the Pacific War in 1941.

The conflicts between Western modernism, Japanese tradition, and ultranationalism were evident not only in international politics, but also in all levels of society and culture in the 1930s. For example, they resulted in various complex syntheses and juxtapositions of Western and Japanese thought in the arts. The decade saw several flourishing approaches and new artistic ideas based on traditional Japanese culture—a trend that has been called, for example, “Japanese neoclassicism” (Hayasaka 1942b; Maekawa 1946) and “traditionalist modernism” (Starrs 2012; Johnson 2012).² The definition of “traditional,” here and in this study, contrasts itself with the West: it refers to characteristics of Japanese culture and society before the active adoption of Western culture and technology that began in 1868.³ In the context of these new movements, the contrast—even conflict—of bringing together the “traditional” and the “modern” is as apparent as it is intriguing. A phenomenon that perfectly exemplifies this was the trend in Western art music composition involving the adoption of elements from traditional Japanese culture to introduce a distinctively “Japanese” quality into the music, which is called “Japanese-style composition” in this study. Here, it is regarded as an expression intentionally chosen by Japanese composers—as opposed to a quality inevitably surfacing in their music—and thus not defined as something presenting that which *is*, but rather which has been *thought of as being* Japanese.

The trend of “rediscovering” traditional culture in the Japanese-style composition of the 1930s resulted in diverse musical approaches, ranging from combining quotations of Japanese melodies with Western functional harmony to more elaborate and complex viewpoints seeking to synthesize the fundamental qualities of both music cultures. Whatever the concrete approach was, it involved the use of musical characteristics associable with Japanese culture; meaning, for example, the use of scales, melodic material, harmony, or aesthetic concepts of traditional Japanese music. These concrete methods

¹ For a more detailed description of these developments in society and culture, see, for example, Morley (ed. 1971), Silberman and Harootunian (eds. 1974), Tsukatani (1976), Watanabe (2002), Tipton (2002), Chiba (2007), Dickinson (2013), and Tsutsui (ed. 2015).

² For a detailed discussion on these movements, see Watanabe (2002) and Starrs (2012).

³ The legitimacy of any cultural trait as a true “tradition” is, of course, highly debatable and an important issue to address in itself (e.g. Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds. 1983). Defining the concept of “traditional” as a historical entity, however, is the typical, “neutral” meaning of the word *dentō* (tradition) in Japanese as well. For example, Endō (2008) discusses court music *gagaku* as a “traditional Japanese art” but acknowledges that the music has changed significantly during the period of more than a millennium it has been practiced in Japan, and does not thus imply an unchanging tradition. Issues related to the definitions of “traditional” are addressed further in Chapter 3.

are called “Japanese elements” in this study, and those composers adopting them constantly in their work are hereafter referred to as the “national school of composition.” It should be noted, however, that they were not a uniform or cohesive group in terms of compositional techniques, motivations, or ideological views; the methods of adopting Japanese elements were as myriad as were the motivations for doing so.

As several artistic movements of the time used traditional elements as a key to modern expression, this would also suggest that Japanese-style composition emerged as avid musical experimentation, or possibly a nostalgic longing for the past. It is, however, equally important to acknowledge that simultaneously with the rise of Japanese-style composition and other “traditionalist” movements, the state proclaimed a call for music enhancing nationalist values toward the late 1930s. This also resulted in several works adopting Japanese elements to foster and support state nationalism, meaning that Japanese-style composition could also serve as an expression of political ultranationalism.

To help distinguishing between these two different possible—and prominent—motivations in the 1930s, this study adapts Bohlman’s (2004) categorization of *nationalist* and *national* music. “Nationalist” refers to ultranationalist thought and music with an ideology underlining Japanese supremacy, possibly also connecting with expansionist war policies.⁴ It “mobilizes the cultural defense of borders” (Bohlman 2004, 81), and “serves a nation-state in its competition with other nation-states” (ibid., 119). By contrast, “national music” refers more neutrally to music presenting allusions to a specific culture.⁵ Therefore, in the context of 1930s Japan, nationalist music does not necessarily contain any Japanese musical elements, and likewise, music utilizing Japanese elements is not nationalist by definition. In this study, “nationalist music” is distinguished primarily by the program or compositional context, instead of the use or reception of the music, since virtually any work can become “nationalist” as a result of having been used for nationalist purposes.

It is, of course, easy to understand that traditional Japanese arts were utilized to emphasize the importance of traditional values, and even to foster nationalism, in the 1930s (e.g. Kasza 1993, 257). But what about Western art music? It may seem contradictory that national or nationalist ideas were conveyed through an essentially Western form of art. This contradiction, however, characterized Japanese society of the time in general. The process of

⁴ There are several ways to express the term “nationalist” in Japanese. The most common ones are *kokushugiteki* (国粋主義的, ultranationalist) and *nashonarizumu* (ナショナリズム, nationalism).

⁵ In Japanese, this is equivalent of the term *minzokushugiteki* (民族主義的, national-style), or more specifically, *nihonteki* (日本的) or even *nihonchō* (日本調; both mean Japanese-style). In the 1930s, Japanese-style composition was mostly referred to as *minzokushugiteki sakkyoku* (民族主義的作曲, national-style composition) or *nihonteki sakkyoku* (日本の作曲, Japanese-style composition). They related to a more general discourse of “things that are Japanese” (*nihonteki naru mono*; 日本的なるもの).

Westernization was fundamentally a nationalist one; it was a project to establish Japan as a modern nation-state and secure its political and territorial interests, in order to evade the fate of those Asian countries colonized by Western powers. “Scratch a modernizer and find a nationalist,” as put by Morley (1971, 3). The rise of revaluation of traditional culture and nationalist values, as well, were consequences of this development, and led to the complex syntheses and juxtapositions of Western and Japanese thought in the 1930s. In this context, it is not that surprising that there were Japanese composers writing fundamentally Western music with elements from traditional Japanese music; rather, it is a perfectly plausible reflection of the society of the time.

This reflection leads us to the topic of this thesis. My main objective in the present study is to understand Japanese-style composition as a phenomenon in the complex musical and social sphere of the 1930s: what it was musically, for which reasons it emerged, and how it related to the social developments of the time. To search for an answer to these questions, this thesis discusses the work and thought of the founding members of one particularly prominent composer group, Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei (新興作曲家連盟; Federation of Emerging Composers).⁶ It has been acknowledged as representing the frontline of both modern expression and Japanese-style composition in several previous studies,⁷ thus embodying the aspects of both Western modernity and Japanese tradition.

Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was, in many aspects, a reflection of the changes taking place in Japan. It was established in 1930 by sixteen young composers, musicians, and critics to endorse modern styles of Western art music, and later grew into one of the biggest and most international composer societies in Japan, as the Japanese branch of the International Society for Contemporary Music in 1935. It actively participated in the diversification of Japanese music of the time through its actions and music, and had 116 members by the end of 1939 (see Someya et al. 1999, 403). As with all other similar associations of the time, the society was forced to disband in 1940. In this study, however, “Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei” refers solely to the original society and its founding members, and discussion focuses on those composers who were interested in Japanese-style composition and represented sufficiently different views from each other in this field. They also had to face the contradictions of their society—or “complex,” as later put by one of the founding composers, Kiyose Yasuji (1972a, 152)—and position their work in this context.

⁶ The name is somewhat difficult to translate. In contemporary Japanese, *shinkō* means “rising” or “emerging.” The word was, however, also used as a synonym for avant-garde in Japan of the 1930s (Akiyama 1979, 11). Above all, it signifies interest in the new.

⁷ E.g. Komiya (1976, 96–99); Akiyama (1979 and 2003); Herd (1987, 19–30); Galliano (2002, 82); and Wade (2014, 103–104).

The issues that this “complex” raises would open up myriad possible methodological paths to follow. Due to the fact that Japanese-style composition of the 1930s has remained a sphere of music mostly untouched in previous research, however, my focus is largely on examining the premises from which the composers’ work and thought emerged. Following Dahlhaus (1983) and Curtis (2008), this study emphasizes the historical contextualization of musical works in a network of thought, sociological viewpoints, aesthetics, and, to some extent, reception. In this framework, musical works are regarded as what could be called a discourse: not something that essentially *is*, but can *represent* a culture or nationality. From a broader socio-cultural perspective not related solely to music, this study takes the viewpoint that Japanese culture is fluid and in constant change. Consequently, the notions of “Japanese-style music” in the 1930s are regarded as relating to discourses of their time, and the theoretical background thus links with studies on the idea of nations and national qualities as “imaginary” constructs (e.g. Gellner 1964; Hobsbawm and Ranger eds. 1983; Smith 1998; Anderson 2006). Through this methodological background, the use of Japanese elements in Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei’s music are not seen merely as musical characteristics, but also as a communication of contemporary discourses—both social and artistic—including the question of what was considered “Japanese” during the time.

But how to assess such ideas behind musical works, regardless of whether they were primarily artistic or stemmed from the social changes taking place in Japan—or both? Aside from programmatic music, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about the “meaning” of a work—or a compositional idiom—based only on music analysis. To understand the meanings that the use of Japanese elements represented for each composer, I will examine both their thought—as presented in their writings and interviews—and musical works. This approach serves two purposes. First, it enables us to understand the cultural environment in which the composers worked, and the ways that they experienced both music and the contradictions of the society of the time. Second, comparing their thought with their artistic output contributes to understanding their musical expression and charting their position as national-style composers in an extra-European context. Obviously, the work of a composer can differ from what they express in words, and music often communicates and conveys ideas that are not present in written accounts. This is why understanding both is important: music and the discourses about music both reflect and create—or, at least, fortify—cultural and social phenomena.

This study has three main objectives. The first, and most important, is to provide a viewpoint to Japanese-style composition in the prewar period⁸ from a musical perspective, and to understand the methods that were applied to

⁸ In this study, “prewar” refers to Japan before the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 8, 1941 (Japanese time). Although Japan was at war already from 1931, this is the typical meaning for the word “prewar” (*senzen*) in Japanese as well. “Postwar” refers to Japan after its surrender to the US on August 15, 1945.

construct specifically Japanese expression. Studies covering this period are so few both in Japan and the West that significantly more basic research is required to understand music of the time in all its versatility; this thesis contributes to this line of research by examining Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei as an example. Through this approach, the aim is also to shed light on one extra-European construct of nationality in music. The second objective is to recognize underlying motivations for composers to become interested in Japanese-style composition by contextualizing their writings and musical works in the historical environment within which they worked. Although representations of Japanese society in other art forms of the time—including popular music—have been relatively well covered in previous scholarship, Japanese-style composition has received significantly less attention in this regard.⁹ By this approach, the present study also seeks to offer a complementary viewpoint on prewar Japanese arts and society in general.

The third objective is to propose an approach to the analysis of the “Japanese” in music. Although previous research discusses Japanese elements in musical works by Japanese composers, a consistent approach for recognizing, understanding, and interpreting them during different time periods has not been presented. The approach proposed here merges with the two aims above by emphasizing the importance of not only locating and understanding Japanese elements as musical material, but also contextualizing them as a phenomenon conveying aspects of its time. In this respect, this study brings together approaches of Japanese studies and musicology.

To better understand Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei’s unique position in the context of Japanese-style composition in the 1930s, we have to take a closer look into musical styles and activities of the time. Although following somewhat different approaches to Japanese-style composition, all founding composers of the society shared one common goal: that of supporting and promoting modern idioms of music. The pursuit of endorsing the modern is crystallized in their early slogan: “march from the age of imitation to the age of creation” (see Someya et al. 1999, 20).¹⁰ Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei’s interest in “modern styles,” as defined in this study, refers to compositional approaches that were relatively new not only in Japan but also in the West; for example, techniques such as atonal composition, microtonality, and dodecaphony. The use of these techniques was, however, extremely limited in the 1930s, and in most cases the “modern” meant other, less radical new music

⁹ The role of Western art music in Japan has been discussed by Tsukatani (1976) and Akiyama (2003) among others—however, only to a limited extent from the viewpoint of what musical works communicate and how. For discussion on representations of society in prewar popular music, see, for example, Mita (1967 and 1971) and Omura (2011a). For other art forms (not necessarily excluding music), see, for example, Watanabe (2002) and Starrs (2012).

¹⁰ In Japanese, *mohō jidai yori sōzō jidai e no kōshinkyoku* (模倣時代より創造時代への行進曲).

theories, occasional chromaticism, and unusual harmonies and instrumental combinations. It is noteworthy that this goal also links with Japanese-style composition; as we will see, many composers regarded the introduction of Japanese elements, such as scales of traditional music, into Western art music as a “modern” (namely, “new”) influence.

Above all, however, the “march from the age of imitation” signified a break from the German tradition of composition and the established Japanese composers following this style (e.g. Akiyama 1979, 12; Matsushita 1999, 1). Understanding this approach requires exploring the stylistic development and the musical styles of the time as defined in the present thesis: German, French Impressionist, and Japanese. Distinctions between them became increasingly important among Japanese composers in the 1930s.

First, “German-style composition” refers to music based on principles of harmony, form, aesthetics, and other characteristics theorized in the Austro-German world. It is founded on musical forms and structures emphasizing thematic development and reprise, and the use of functional harmony. These are more important parameters than timbre, for example.¹¹ In the context of prewar Japan, this refers mostly to musical idioms of the late Classical, Early Romantic, and Middle Romantic periods. Many have pointed out that this idiom should be considered “universally European” rather than exclusively “German” (e.g. Kurkela 2014). Use of the term is, however, justified in the context of prewar Japan: Western art music was introduced mostly by German musicians and composers, and several early Japanese composers studied in Germany. Galliano (2002, 34) also points out that since Japanese culture values long traditions and German music was regarded as such, it was considered particularly important and worth studying. As the first idiom of Western-style composition adopted to Japan, it also represented Western culture and civilization.

A significant new trend to offer an alternative to the German style was French Impressionist-style composition. Here, “French Impressionist-style” is defined as the musical practices in Debussy’s work, including, for example, the following characteristics described by Jarocinski (1981, 12): “[...] whole-tone scales; plagal cadences; common chords, sometimes combined with chords of the seventh; sequences of ninth and major thirds [...]”¹² Equally important are a focus on atmospheres and timbres, the emphasis of which often results in lack of clear-cut form: instead of providing thematic development and linear movement typical of the German style, images—or impressions—conveyed musically are a more important aspect (e.g. Tarasti 1994, 226–227; 2003, 93–97; Howat 2009). For many Japanese composers, French Impressionist-style composition represented a musical world in which to experiment and

¹¹ For detailed descriptions of this idiom and its origins, see more on its forms, aesthetics, and the use of functional harmony in Blume (1970), Rosen (1971), Ratner (1985), and Leichtentritt (1987).

¹² For more detailed descriptions of this musical language, see, for example, Jarocinski (1981) and Parks (1989) on Debussy.

adventure (Galliano 2002, 34). It is, however, important to understand not only the musical, but also cultural aspects that it represented: those following French Impressionist-style composition were typically also interested in its opposition to German-style composition (Akiyama 1979, 11). The idea of French Impressionism as an antithesis to German music was a cultural similarity with the origins of Debussy's style (Motiekaitis 2011, 109). In this context, it even appears as a *modernist* approach to contradict established norms. For example, Matsudaira (1992, 144) later criticized those composers of his generation who simply followed the example of French Impressionists as a new, technical dogma to substitute the German one, instead of understanding its subversive aspects.¹³

This contesting of German-style composition links with the rise of Japanese-style composition, as well. The goal of promoting “modern expression” represents an exciting aspect of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei, by suggesting that the use of Japanese elements was possibly a way to renew and develop Western art music from a Japanese point of view. That Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was a part of a movement utilizing Japanese elements for this purpose is what several previous studies have suggested (e.g. Akiyama 1979, 12; Matsushita 1999, 1; Herd 2004, 44–45). Considering the cultural contradictions of the 1930s, however, it seems likely that Japanese-style composition did not represent solely artistic viewpoints, but also connected with trends contesting Western culture.

This is further suggested by the fact that the late 1920s and early 1930s saw the foundation of other societies by young composers endorsing modernist expression that, unlike Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei, did not advocate Japanese-style composition.¹⁴ Societies such as Promethe criticized the national school and blasted Japanese-style composition altogether as only being worthy of being exhibited in a “souvenir shop.” The Japanese Proletarian Music League (Nihon puroretaria ongaku dōmei) accused Japanese-style composition of implying nationalism and fascism by the adoption of Japanese elements. School of New Music (新音楽派; Shin ongakuha), a radical avant-garde group centered on futuristic aesthetics, took an indifferent stance on Japanese-style composition. The same applied to Suruya (スルヤ), a society that sought to define the “future music of Japan” for the betterment of “the Japanese,” although never specifying what this meant musically. Societies of older composers, such as the Composer Society of Imperial Japan (Dai Nippon sakkyokuka kyōkai), on the other hand, focused on German-style composition.

¹³ The same kind of criticism was later offered by experimental postwar composers, as well; one example is Yuasa Jōji (see Wade 2005, 160–161). An extraordinary example of a work combining “technical dogmas” of both German-style and French Impressionist-style practices is the fourth movement of Komatsu Kōsuke's (1884–1966) piano sonata, which he composed while studying in France in 1922. It suggests influence from French Impressionists in its use of whole-tone scales and harmonies based on seventh chords, but follows classical German forms and thematic development.

¹⁴ For more detailed explanations of the groups and their goals discussed here, see Akiyama (1979, 12–24; and 2003).

The only society of the time notably resembling the goals of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was New Music Federation (Shin ongaku renmei), which was founded in Hokkaidō in 1934 by Ifukube Akira (1914–2006) and Hayasaka Fumio (1914–1955)—both of whom were later among the most influential composers of the prewar national school. In the context of these different groups, it is easy to see that Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was in a unique position as a group that promoted both modern music and Japanese-style expression.

Different approaches were, of course, also represented inside Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei. Of the sixteen founding members, discussion in this thesis focuses on those who were the most active in endorsing Japanese-style expression in their works and writings: Mitsukuri Shūkichi (1895–1971), Kiyose Yasuji (1900–1981), Hashimoto Kunihiro (1904–1949), and Matsudaira Yoritsune (1907–2001). These four represented versatile views and methods sufficiently different from each other that we can observe how divergent were the approaches the use of Japanese elements led to, whereas other composers are discussed more briefly. Mitsukuri proposed an East Asian harmony theory to synthesize Japanese and Western principles (Dohi 1988); Kiyose, although a composer of Western-style music, believed that Japanese composers should not blindly mimic the West (Komiya 1995); Hashimoto was a versatile modernist and a professor of composition, who was interested in any type of materials as influences (Lehtonen 2015a); and Matsudaira became a celebrated composer in the West for his methods of combining Japanese and Western elements in the postwar period (Galliano 2002, 137–144). The diversity of motivations and methods among Japanese-style composers of the time is well exemplified in the different courses that these four composers took.

The primary source materials of this thesis comprise prewar musical scores, and original writings by and interviews with the composers in Japanese, including both published and unpublished documents. Finding published writings by the composers has involved going through every issue of prominent Japanese music journals of the 1930s, but secondary sources have also been extremely helpful in pointing out where to look. During the several months of fieldwork in Japan for this thesis in 2014 and 2016, two archives were especially important for collecting materials and information: the Archives of Modern Japanese Music (Nihon kindai ongakukan) of Meiji Gakuin University, and the National Diet Library of Japan, both located in Tokyo. The Archives of Modern Japanese Music, in particular, was crucial in that it holds unpublished musical scores and other original documents by Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei not accessible anywhere else. Both archives have also provided easy access to a vast number of music journals and published musical scores from the 1930s, to an extent not available in most other Japanese archives or libraries. This is why their collections became the two most important archives for collecting primary materials.

Most of the primary materials for this study date from the 1920s–1940s, but selected writings and interviews from the postwar period have been examined as well. This applies particularly to Matsudaira, as written materials by and about him are virtually nonexistent in the prewar period. Most of the writings have been published in music journals and magazines, but private correspondence has also been used as source material in some cases when it has been available. Although writings by Mitsukuri Shūkichi (1948), Kiyose Yasuji (1981), and Sugawara¹⁵ Meirō (1998) have been published as compilations, all of them contain some alterations to the original articles, and do not include all of their prewar writings, which is why this study refers almost solely to the original publications. The most important single source to understand Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei and its actions as a society is Someya et al.'s (1999) compilation of records of the federation's activity, including detailed information on performances, member lists, transcripts, reception in the media, and so forth. It focuses, however, on the society as an actor in the Japanese music world of the time, and does not discuss the ideas and works of individual composers.

While primary source materials on the composers are abundant, however, this cannot be said about secondary materials. A significant motive for me to research composition in prewar Japan is that studies on the topic have remained relatively few both in Japan and the West. Thirty years ago, Akiyama Kuniharu (1988a, 104) noted that we are unfamiliar with the conditions that composers of the prewar period faced. This has started to change only during recent years, as interest in prewar Japanese music has grown both in Japanese and international scholarship. Its scarcity, however, also reflects another persistent issue: that of drawing a separating line in the history of Japanese arts between the prewar and postwar periods (Kuroppenshutain 2005). This has also taken place with discussion on Western-style composition. As many young Japanese composers—most famously, Takemitsu Tōru (1930–1996)—achieved notable international recognition after the war, and prewar music was long associated with ultranationalism (see Akiyama 1979, 46), composers before the war have received significantly less attention than those of the postwar period.

The canonized idea of Japanese composition being “born” after the war should, however, be re-examined critically. While many postwar composers indeed did not have any interest in prewar music, the composers discussed in this study were those who first experimented with Japanese-style expression, and also had a notable role in establishing societies that were significant in internationalizing Japanese music after the war.

The lack of research on prewar music is apparent in the case of the composers discussed in this study as well. Aside from brief discussion, there are only few studies on Mitsukuri Shūkichi in Japan, and virtually none in the

¹⁵ Matsushita (1998, i) gives the reading as “Sugahara.” As “Sugawara” is an established reading, however, this study uses it as well.

West. Kitajima et al.'s (1979) list of his writings and works is the most comprehensive outlook into the composer's work and life, but it does not discuss his artistic output and harmony theory—his most important contribution to Japanese-style composition—in detail. Dohi (1988) introduces some aspects of Mitsukuri's theory of Japanese harmony, but neglects crucial characteristics and focuses only on the work *Collection of Bashō's Travels* (*Bashō kikōshū*, 1930–1931). Many Western and some other Japanese studies, as well, have discussed the second song in this work,¹⁶ but while offering interesting viewpoints, none of them examine the foundations of Mitsukuri's theory aside from the very basics.

While Kiyose Yasuji's music has been examined somewhat more extensively in Japan, his writings have received much less attention, although they are large in number and provide crucial viewpoints on his artistic work as well. For Kiyose's music, the accounts by Hayasaka (1942a-b) and Komiya (1995) are the most comprehensive single sources, although also Akiyama (1979 and 2003) discusses his life and work to a notable extent. Hashimoto Kunihiko's work, as well, has received some attention in Japanese-language scholarship. Shibaike's (1996 and 1999) writings on Hashimoto's vocal works provide an excellent outlook of his styles and creative periods. Saegusa (2010 and 2012) has taken this discussion further, however he focuses mostly on popular songs. Dohi (1986) and Omura (2014) provide excellent perspectives on Hashimoto's life and work in general; Omura, in particular, also addresses the change that Hashimoto's status underwent after the war. However, none of these writings discuss his Japanese-style work. My own article (Lehtonen 2015a) is the only one about this aspect—and the only writing focusing on Hashimoto in English.

Matsudaira Yoritsune is something of an exception among the four composers, in that his work has been studied to remarkable degree even in the West—particularly as Japanese-style composition.¹⁷ However, these studies are limited almost solely to his postwar work, whereas the prewar compositions are typically ignored by stating that they were “unsuccessful”—something argued by the composer himself as well (Matsudaira 1954a, 13). Two articles by Hiramoto (2002 and 2004) on Matsudaira's piano works are exceptions to this, and provide important perspectives on Matsudaira's prewar musical language in general.

While studies focusing on Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei or its individual composers are scarce, however, there are many good general studies on Japanese music in the prewar period. Akiyama Kuniharu's writings

¹⁶ Takase (1974); Herd (1987, 40–49; 2004, 50–51); Galliano (2002, 69–70); and Pacun (2012, 28–31).

¹⁷ For example, an entire issue of *Perspectives on New Music* (4/1998) was devoted to Matsudaira's music and life, and contains writings by figures such as John Cage and Olivier Messiaen. The work *Variations for Piano and Orchestra* (1953) was praised by Herbert von Karajan and has since then been performed and recorded internationally numerous times. Both Galliano (2002, 137–144) and Herd (1987, 146–169) discuss Matsudaira's postwar work to a notable extent.

(particularly 1979 and 2003, but also several individual articles) remain insightful and established classics on the history of Japanese music in the prewar period from a composer-oriented perspective, even though they are not actual academic studies. The essay collection by *Nihon ongaku buyō kaigi* (ed. 1976) discusses not only composers and their works, but also sheds light on the process of adopting Western music in Japan from a critical perspective, also giving sufficient space to discussion on the social context of the prewar period. Although Katayama (2007) focuses fundamentally on the postwar period, he also recognizes continuity between composer generations and gives notable space to a discussion on prewar music. As a relatively recent study, Katayama also critically re-examines some canonized facts, such as the claimed “simplicity” of all prewar Japanese-style composition or the “Japaneseness” of all Japanese music.

Research by scholars from Western countries tends to be comprehensive—covering various aspects of Western-style composition in Japan—with some attention paid to prewar music but mostly emphasizing postwar music. The most extensive account is provided by Galliano (2002)—the most notable and established academic work on Western-style composition in Japan in the English language, and an important secondary source for this study as well. Galliano also recognizes and discusses the continuity between composer generations. Herd (1987 and 2004), as well, gives a certain amount of space to prewar composition. However, while presenting pioneering analyses of prewar musical works in English, Herd echoes several stereotypes about prewar music as simply a “pre-stage” leading to postwar music. This viewpoint has recently been questioned by Pacun (2012), who emphasizes the importance of studying Japanese prewar music as its own entity—a viewpoint also shared by this study.

Apart from the studies mentioned above, there are several other books and articles used as source materials in this thesis—particularly about the adoption of Western music to Japan and the development of music culture and composition. Still, it can be concluded that while studies on prewar music do exist, studies *focusing* on prewar composition are far fewer in number. A significant issue is the strong emphasis on postwar music, and this lack of specific discussion on prewar music has led to critical viewpoints deeming all prewar Japanese composition as “superficial” or “unsuccessful.”¹⁸ However, writings presenting this viewpoint typically do not offer any further justification for this view. The present study thus seeks to provide a new viewpoint on this aspect as well.

Western scholarship on composition in Japan has not only focused on postwar music, but has also been largely obsessed with the topic of Japanese elements, and has ignored other important aspects of Japanese music (Pacun 2012). Ironically, the present study contributes to this line of research as well. Yet, I find this approach justified in the context of the 1930s. The importance of Japanese-style composition is exemplified in the constant debates on the

¹⁸ For example, Heifetz (1984, 445); Nordgren (1989, 50), and Burt (2001, 15–17).

topic during the decade, and connects closely with the contemporary social situation and phenomena in other arts. Japanese-style composition—although sometimes discussed as a monolith—was not based on shared ideas and values. Whether the artistic expression of prewar composers was “successful” or not compared with the postwar composers is, in this context, an assessment of secondary importance; for this study, it is more important to try to comprehend the approaches and their fundamental meanings.

I do, however, recognize that my position as a non-Japanese researcher and non-native speaker of Japanese language nearly ninety years after the time discussed affects the interpretations made in this study. This has both its advantages and disadvantages. Conceiving and contextualizing cultural and social phenomena can have its advantages when exercised from a distance; at best, it can reveal aspects that have remained unnoticed for those experiencing them firsthand. At the same time, however, one has to accept that interpretations are always tied to their time and place, no matter how extensively research is conducted to understand the realities of the discussed time period. This is an ultimately unavoidable outcome when trying to understand what music has “tried to do” in historical contexts (Steinberg 2004, 4), and simultaneously results in acknowledging that all research is ultimately an interpretation of the past through a contemporary lens (*ibid.*).

This text is organized in six chapters. Following Chapter 1—the current introduction—Chapter 2 discusses Western art music composition in Japan before and during the 1930s. It does not aim at being a comprehensive examination of the topic—which would require a study of its own—but rather provides an introduction to the background of both the artistic and the social situation in Japan at the time.¹⁹ After this, Chapter 3 introduces the theoretical framework for the subsequent analyses. This includes a list of musical characteristics that can represent Japanese elements; equally importantly, however, the analytical approach of this study suggests that the definitions of what is “Japanese” have changed over time, which is why discussing music requires a historical and social contextualization that goes beyond the study of certain musical characteristics as national elements. This idea leads naturally to Chapter 4, which introduces the thoughts of the founding composers of *Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei* as preserved in their writings and, to a lesser extent, interviews. This approach not only provides further hints on how to assess their artistic work, but also sheds light on the meanings of Japanese-style composition in the context of the 1930s. Chapter 5, the longest section, seeks to recognize representations of the ideas introduced in the previous chapters in musical works by the composers discussed. After this, Chapter 6

¹⁹ Galliano (2002) and Mehl (2014) provide the most detailed accounts on the adoption of Western music and Western-style composition in Japan in English. For Japanese sources, Akiyama (1979; 2003), *Nihon ongaku buyō kaigi* (ed. 1976), Chiba (2007), and Katayama (2007) offer insightful outlooks.

summarizes the findings of this study and points out the myriad questions requiring further examination and discussion.

As always with studies related to Japan, some remarks need to be made on the spelling of names of persons and titles of musical works. First, this study uses the Hepburn Romanization system for Japanese. Macrons are used to indicate long vowels, with the exception of standardized words such as Tokyo and Kyoto (instead of Tōkyō and Kyōto). The only exception to this practice are names of Japanese researchers and composers who have adopted another writing for their names. Names of Japanese persons are presented in the Japanese order: family name before given name (e.g. Hashimoto Kunihiko instead of Kunihiko Hashimoto).

When a composer is mentioned for the first time—whether being discussed in more detail or not—their birth and death years and the writing of their name in *kanji*, or Japanese characters, is given in brackets after their name. In some cases, titles of musical works are also given in *kanji*. This is done when the characters in Japanese are difficult or even impossible to guess based on Western transliteration only. One such example is Yamada Kōsaku's song *Fisherman* (六騎; *Rokkyū*), in which both the unusual meaning and reading of the title are related to the Yanagawa dialect. By contrast, the Japanese writing of Kishi Kōichi's orchestral work *Japanese Sketches* (*Nihon sukecchi*), is easy to guess for anyone familiar with the language. Musical terms such as symphony, concerto, or trio, are not considered as titles of works, and no Japanese title is presented in their case. This also applies to piece collections with no proper names, such as Kiyose Yasuji's *Piano Piece Collection Vol. 2* instead of the Japanese title *Dai-ni pianokyokushū*.

Several composers mentioned and discussed in this study are generally not very well-known even in Japan, but particularly so in the West. To facilitate reading this thesis, Appendix 1 contains a list of composers discussed in the study. Whenever the name of a Japanese person is presented without birth and death dates in brackets, they have already been mentioned previously and are possibly listed in Appendix I. However, if a person is mentioned only briefly, or does not bear notable significance to the study, they are not included in the list. Appendix 2 contains a list of frequently mentioned Japanese words and concepts—such as musical instruments and genres, names of scales, and so forth.

Finally, music examples are presented in a manner that adheres to the principles of fair use legislation in the European Union and the United States.

2 Japanese-style composition in the 1930s

Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was founded in April 1930 by eleven composers, four musicians, and one critic, who all shared the goal of promoting and supporting modern musical expression in Japan. This approach proved successful, as Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei became the Japanese branch of the International Society of Contemporary Music in 1935. In November 1940, however, Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei and all other artistic groups and associations were disbanded and gathered under the governmental umbrella society Alliance to Promote the New Order in the Musical World (Gakudan shintaisei sokushin dōmei; 楽壇新体制促進同盟). This was an outcome of political developments: the 1930s, in general, saw growing governmental control, several incidents of political terrorism, and a rising trend of militarist nationalism—all eventually leading to Japan's participation in World War II. Not surprisingly, these phenomena left their mark on music as well. This chapter introduces the background to the societal context in which Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei worked—focusing, however, on Japanese-style composition. Chapter 2.1 introduces music in Japan before the 1930s, a decade discussed in Chapter 2.2. Chapter 2.3 addresses Japanese-style composition and musical nationalism in the 1930s, and Chapter 2.4 introduces Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei in more detail.

2.1 Early steps of Western art music in Japan

As described in Chapter 1, Western music was introduced into Japan with Western culture. Considering the status of Western music in Japan, it is important to recognize the key motivation for the adoption of Western culture and technology: it was not a project of internationalization, but of nationalism—a means to turn Japan into a powerful nation-state and secure its global interests (Morley 1971).²⁰ Japan strived to become a superpower in the global context, and was fast to industrialize and build up a modern military. The country's success in this respect was proved in its triumphs in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), the annexation of Korea (1910), and World War I (1914–1918).²¹ This was also the context in which Western music was adopted in Japan: it was originally a tool to foster the adoption of Western culture rather than something to be enjoyed aesthetically (e.g. Galliano 2002, 33; Chiba 2007).

²⁰ For more on the early adoption of Western culture to Japan, see, for example, the ten-volume series *Japanese Culture in the Meiji Era* (Tokyo: Ōbunsha, 1956–1958) or Takii (2014).

²¹ Japan's fast modernization, long considered a phenomenal success, has since then been viewed in more critical terms as a cause of the rise of militarism in the 1930s (Havens 2015, 13).

Mapping out the future of music culture and education in Japan under Western influence was entrusted to Isawa Shūji (伊沢修二, 1851–1917). The Music Inspection Committee (Ongaku torishirabe gakari), an institution to train musicians and survey how to adopt Western music to Japan, was founded under his direction in 1879. Most teachers of the school were from Europe, mainly Germany. It was renamed the Tokyo Academy of Music (Tōkyō ongaku gakkō)²² in 1887 and later became—and is still today—the Faculty of Music of the Tokyo University of the Arts (Tōkyō geijutsu daigaku). Isawa claimed to favor the synthesis of the “best elements” of Western and Japanese music (see Eppstein 1994, 50–52), or their “compromise” (see Akiyama 1976, 19). Although Japanese music was officially included in the curriculum of the new school, however, Isawa heavily emphasized instruction in Western music.²³

This alignment—a trend evident in the society of the time in general—was also present in the musical approach that Isawa proposed to combine the “best elements” of both cultures: the pentatonic *yonanuki* scale. *Yonanuki* literally means “omission of the fourth and seventh,” and, as the name suggests, it refers to Western diatonic scales with the fourth and seventh degrees omitted. Isawa’s idea was that using it would result in melodies that resemble traditional music but could be accompanied by Western harmony. Therefore, music adopting *yonanuki* is in a major or minor key, and despite certain similarities with the scales of traditional Japanese music, it is fundamentally based on Western tonality.²⁴ The influential musicologist Koizumi Fumio (1985, 19), for example, later deemed *yonanuki* as “neither Western nor Japanese.”

It did not take long for the first Japanese composers of Western-style music to debut after this, signifying that the new culture had rooted to the level that musicians could already approach it creatively. As the Tokyo Academy of Music did not have a curriculum for composition, early Japanese composers were mostly self-taught. The first Japanese work of Western-style art music was Kōda Nobu’s (幸田延, 1870–1946) Sonata for Violin and Piano in E♭ Major (1895). She was soon followed by her pupil, Taki Rentarō (瀧廉太郎, 1879–1903), who is best recognized for his songs, but also wrote the first Japanese solo piano pieces *Menuetto* (1900) and *Grudge* (*Urami*, 1903). Whereas these works represent German Romantic-style composition, the adoption of the *yonanuki* scale is more apparent in songs of the time (Lehtonen 2010a, 17).²⁵ One of the best-known examples is Taki’s *Moon over a Ruined Castle* (荒城の

²² Literally, Tōkyō ongaku gakkō translates as “Tokyo Music School”—a translation used also by The Tokyo University of the Arts (2017). However, many documents of the time in English refer to it as “academy,” which is why also this study uses that form.

²³ For a more detailed account of Isawa’s policies and the role of traditional music in Meiji-era Japan, see Nomura (1956), Akiyama (1976), Eppstein (1994), or Chiba (2007).

²⁴ Theories of traditional Japanese music and their relation with the *yonanuki* scale are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.4. For more on Isawa and the use of the *yonanuki* scale, see Eppstein (1994).

²⁵ This applied to various types of songs: school songs, military songs, art songs, and popular songs alike.

月; *Kōjō no tsuki*, 1901), which adopts the minor *yonanuki* scale. Songs with piano accompaniment were, in general, the most common type of composition. According to Kojima's (1976, 65) view, this was largely due to the early composers' inexperience with larger ensembles, but also for practical reasons, since large orchestras were yet to be founded in Japan.

There were, however, exceptions to this rule. One of the most prominent composers and a notable developer of music culture in the early twentieth century was Yamada Kōsaku [or Kōşçak²⁶] (山田耕筰, 1886–1965), who demonstrated a profound understanding of Western music at an early age and was acknowledged as the leading composer of his time (Galliano 2002, 103). After graduating from the Tokyo Academy of Music, Yamada studied at the Royal Academy of the Arts in Berlin (Königliche Akademie der Künste) from 1910 to 1913, where he became the first Japanese to compose a symphony in 1912. Upon his return to Japan, he was active in conducting Western works in Japan, and founding new orchestras and music magazines. While Yamada's early works resemble nineteenth-century German Romanticism, he soon became influenced by the Late Romantic idiom of Richard Strauss, and was even said to have regretted his studies in Germany after encountering the music of Alexander Scriabin (Kiyose 1963a, 16).²⁷

These new influences in Yamada's work notwithstanding, most Japanese composers of the time were absorbed in the pursuit of assimilating and understanding classical German music theory and composition. This is reflected in the work of notable early composers such as Nobutoki Kiyoshi (信時潔, 1887–1965) and Komatsu Kōsuke (小松耕輔, 1884–1966), who, like most Japanese composers of the time, focused on learning from the example of their foreign counterparts (Kojima 1976). Although the adoption of Western culture was famously launched with the slogan "Western knowledge with Japanese spirit" (*wakon yōsai*), an emphasis on foreign culture over Japanese characterized the decades after the Meiji restoration in general: aside from minor opposition, it was approached with enthusiasm and respect. This is well reflected in writings of the influential musicologist Tanabe Hisao (田辺尚雄, 1883–1984), who even tried to point out similarities in form between traditional Japanese music and Western composition (Tanabe 1919, 580).

Although initiated as a nationalist project of the state, the adoption of Western culture was eventually embraced by the public—a development also apparent in music (Yamazumi 1976; Chiba 2007). Yamada's career and understanding of different musical styles, for example, reflected gradual changes and developments in Japanese composition, which was to follow the same rapid pace of progress as the modernization in general (Galliano 2002,

²⁶ "Kōşçak" was the form of his name that Yamada used in the West. This was a typical practice among Japanese composers. For instance, Hashimoto Kunihiro romanized his forename as "Qunihico," while Sugawara Meirō (菅原明朗, 1897–1988) used the form "Meireau Soegaharat."

²⁷ For more on Yamada and his influence on Japanese music, see, for example, Galliano (2002, 43–51). See also the compiled edition of Yamada's own writings in three volumes: *Yamada Kōsaku chosaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2001).

65). The trend of following the West, however, started to be questioned in the 1920s.

2.2 Diversification of styles

The 1920s saw many social changes that were to play a fundamental role in the subsequent developments in Japan. Economic growth and rapid urbanization after World War I—fostered by the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923, after which Tokyo was rebuilt as a highly modern metropolis—led to the birth of commercial mass culture, incorporating certain elements from the West but emerging in a Japanese environment with its own distinctive characteristics (e.g. Tipton 2000; Silverberg 2006). At the same time, however, the urbanization resulted in a sharper juxtaposition of the rural and urban than before—particularly after a series of recessions that hit the countryside severely toward the end of the decade and in the 1930s—and a subsequent revaluation of Japanese culture that had been neglected during the most avid years of Westernization (e.g. Morley 1971; Havens 2015). In this juxtaposition, it was now the cosmopolitan metropolises that represented Western culture and modernity, whereas the countryside was associated with “authentic” Japanese culture (e.g. Yanagita 1929). Liberal and democratic values blooming in the early 1920s saw a turn to a more protectionist nationalism toward the end of the decade; nationalist thought of the time, in particular, saw that urban mass culture represented Western decadence that poisoned traditional Japanese values, and should be treated with caution (e.g. Spizman 2004).²⁸

The revaluation of traditional culture in the society and the arts was closely linked with all these developments, but it was not about ultranationalism, nor did it originate in an aggressive way. Rather, it sought to awake traditions that had been neglected during the process of Westernization, as a phenomenon that has been named “traditional modernism” by Starrs (2012) and Johnson (2012). This was also apparent in the first emergences of movements drawing inspiration from traditional Japanese music. In 1920, the blind *koto*²⁹ player Miyagi Michio (宮城道雄, 1895–1956), *shakuhachi* bamboo flute player Yoshida Seifū (吉田晴風, 1891–1950), and composer Motoori Nagayo (本居長世, 1885–1945) organized a concert of Miyagi’s and Motoori’s compositions for Japanese instruments. The concert was entitled *Shin Nihon Ongaku* (New Japanese Music), and resulted in the birth of a musical movement of the same name. *Shin Nihon Ongaku* sought to revive traditional music with new approaches: while compositions by the movement are for Japanese instruments and resemble traditional repertoire musically, works were also

²⁸ These developments and social issues have been covered well in Tipton (2002), Silverberg (2006), and Dickinson (2013); see also McClain (2002).

²⁹ Many Japanese *koto* musicians prefer the use of the term *sō* (箏) rather than *koto* (琴). However, referring to the instrument as *koto* is such a typical practice both in Japan and the West that this study does so as well.

occasionally written in Western forms, such as concerto and rondo (Chiba 2007, 199–210). One of the most well-known works of Shin Nihon Ongaku is Miyagi's *The Sea at Spring* (*Haru no umi*, 1929) for the *shakuhachi* and *koto*—also famous in the West as arrangements for various instrumental combinations.

Another movement signaling a growing interest in traditional culture was Shin Min'yō (New Folk Songs), which flourished in the 1920s and early 1930s. Shin Min'yō started as a trend of poetry in the style of folk songs, but became a musical movement in the 1920s with numerous songs composed to the poems, typically in an idiom resembling rural folk songs (e.g. Kojima 1970).³⁰ The immense popularity of Shin Min'yō was a result of certain social changes in Japan of the time. Many in the countryside were forced to leave their homes in search for work in the modernized cities, which resulted in a nostalgic longing for their rural homes (e.g. Ogawa 1999, 220)—a tendency that eventually came to characterize the relationship between traditional Japanese culture and Western modernism in general (e.g. Silverberg 2006; Havens 2015). Writers and composers of *shin min'yō* were, however, typically trained in Western literature and music. An example of this is Nakayama Shinpei (中山晋平, 1887–1952), who was educated in the Tokyo Academy of Music and is regarded as the initiator of Shin Min'yō as a large musical movement (e.g. Wada 2010, 141).³¹ Some of the composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei, including Hashimoto Kunihiro (橋本國彦, 1904–1949) and the brothers Komatsu Heigorō (小松平五郎, 1897–1953) and Kiyoshi (小松清, 1899–1975), took part in the movement as well.

While Shin Nihon Ongaku and Shin Min'yō are only two examples, both reflected a newly rising interest in traditional culture. Although emerging originally in movements that had a direct connection with traditional music, these influences found their way also into Western art music composition at the end of the 1920s. The almost simultaneous emergence of a second generation of composers marked, in general, a new period for Western-style composition in Japan—one characterized by a quest to break away from the German tradition advocated by older composers. Members of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei played a critical role in this development, which demonstrated interest not only in Japanese-style composition but also in impressionism, neoclassicism, and other newer styles of Western art music.

Yamada Kōsaku was again among the first to reflect these new ideas. What, at least partly, affected this was his visit to the United States in 1918–1919. Yamada conducted his own works in several concerts in Carnegie Hall, but

³⁰ *Shin min'yō*, however, defies clear-cut definitions. A perfect example of this is “Harbor of Habu” (波浮の港; “Habu no minato”)—a poem by Noguchi Ujō (野口雨情, 1882–1945), to which both Nakayama Shinpei and Yamada Kōsaku composed songs with piano accompaniment. Nakayama's version is famous for exceeding all expectations as a record release in 1928: it sold more than could be produced and it is often called “the first Japanese popular song record” (e.g. Morita 2010, 11). By contrast, Yamada's version was written more along the lines of Western-style composition.

³¹ Nakayama was also a pioneer of popular music and children's songs (e.g. Wada 2010).

while they were received favorably, he was regarded primarily as a “Japanese composer” rather than a composer of Western art music (see Pacun 2006). Possibly due to this experience, a new, Japanese quality—in terms of melody and harmony resembling traditional music—emerged in Yamada’s work after his return to Japan (e.g. Galliano 2002, 36). An early example is the symphony *Inno Meiji* (明治頌歌; *Meiji shōka*; Hymn to Emperor Meiji, 1921) with its harmonies resembling the mouth organ *shō* and the use of the reed *hichiriki*—both wind instruments in *gagaku*, the court music of Japan. It took, however, several years before this kind of approach became more prominent.

It was already noted in Chapter 1 how German-style composition became largely contested with French Impressionist-style composition and Japanese-style composition. Apart from these, the 1930s saw the rise of several minor trends. For example, the experimental and modernist work of the Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei member Itō Noboru (伊藤昇, 1903–1993) does not easily fall into one of the three categories.³² None of the trends were exclusive: it is, for example, possible to adopt Japanese elements in both German-style and French Impressionist-style music. Still, while possibly experimenting with different styles, it was typical for composers to follow one in particular.

This diversification of styles was not a straightforward process. As German-style composition was considered a musical approach that the Japanese should follow (Galliano 2002, 34), the first French Impressionist-style works by Japanese composers were met with great surprise (Dohi 1986, 25). One well-documented event is the premier of Hashimoto Kunihiko’s three vocal works in 1928,³³ but approximately at the same time with Hashimoto, other future founding composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei also became interested in impressionism.³⁴ A significant inspiration for all of them was the French pianist Henri Gil-Marchex’s (1884–1970) 1925-recital, where he performed several works by French Impressionist composers (Akiyama 1979, 9).

With new compositional styles and schools emerging in Japan, the compositional scene saw a division into academic and non-academic composers. Several previous studies recognize this division, but from somewhat different viewpoints: putting emphasis either on musical education and compositional style (e.g. Galliano 2002)—referring mostly to academic composers as rigorous followers of the German style of composition and non-academic composers as its antithesis—or indicating whether the composer studied at the Tokyo Academy of Music or not (e.g. Sano 2010). The latter definition is the literal meaning of the words used in Japanese: the “national university school” (*kangakuha*; 官学派) as academic composers, and “opposition” or “outsiders” (*zaiyaha*; 在野派) as non-academic ones (Komiya

³² Itō is discussed further in Chapters 4.5 and 5.5.

³³ This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.3.

³⁴ These composers include Mitsukuri Shūkichi (箕作秋吉, 1895–1971), Sugawara Meirō, Kiyose Yasuji (清瀬保二, 1900–1981), and Matsudaira Yoritsune (松平頼則, 1907–2001).

1976, 97). This study adopts the latter meaning, as did Komiya (1976) and Sano (2010). The definitions, however, overlap in that it was indeed typical of the academic composers to follow German-style composition. Still, there were exceptions to this,³⁵ and the division was also based on social hierarchies by signifying a segmentation between established (academic) and unestablished (non-academic) composers. Some have also regarded this as a significant motive for the group of unestablished young composers to found Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei in 1930 (e.g. Akiyama 2003, 271; Matsushita 1999, 1).

Becoming a “non-academic” composer was not the result of choice: at the time of the foundation of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei, it was not possible to major in composition at the Tokyo Academy of Music.³⁶ For instance, Kiyose (1963a, 13) later mentioned that he would have been interested in studying composition, had it only been possible at the time. Furthermore, Sano (2010, 138) notes that those interested in French Impressionism had no other choice but to accept their position as “outsiders,” since impressionist-style composition was not taught in Japan. For the same reason, anti-academism came to be equated with anti-German-style composition. Like French Impressionists, Japanese composers writing impressionist-style music were subject to criticism from those advocating German-style composition (Jarocinski 1981, 16; Galliano 2002, 72). This began to change only in the late 1930s with influence from Ikenouchi Tomojirō (池内友次郎, 1906–1991), possibly the most famous Japanese follower and academic teacher of French Impressionist-style composition.³⁷ Non-academic composers were not only those who advocated impressionism, however. An example of this is Moroi Saburō (諸井三郎, 1903–1977), who studied composition at the Berlin Musikhochschule from 1932 to 1934. Unlike the preceding German-style composers in Japan, Moroi wrote neoclassical works in a chromatic, even atonal style. As he was a follower of the German tradition but in a manner different from the academic composers of the time, Sano (2010, 138) describes his music as “anti-academic German style.”

Although the division between academic and non-academic composers did not completely correspond with the division into German and French Impressionist styles, one domain that was originally almost solely that of the non-academic composers was Japanese-style composition. Galliano (2002, 72) suggests that the music of the national school was interesting and personal for the reason that many of the composers had not studied abroad and were thus able to interpret the Western tradition of music in their own terms.³⁸

³⁵ For example, Hashimoto Kunihiro, although being a professor at the Academy, composed in several styles. On the other hand, “non-academic” composers such as Mitsukuri Shūkichi did receive academic education in composition—albeit not at the Academy—and composed works in the German style.

³⁶ The curriculum for composition was established in 1932.

³⁷ Ikenouchi studied composition at the Paris Conservatory in 1927–1934 and became professor of composition at the Tokyo Academy of Music after the war.

³⁸ This was, however, seen as mere eclecticism by some. For example, Moroi (1942) criticized composers of his time for not understanding the historical development of

Herd (1987, 70) puts this another way, and argues that one reason that the national school turned to internal influences was their lack of musical education.

These viewpoints are debatable, however. First, many non-academic composers, including Mitsukuri Shūkichi and Komatsu Kiyoshi, did receive education abroad; others, such as Kiyose Yasuji, studied with foreign or Japanese composers educated in Europe. Second, several foreign composers influenced Japanese music of the time. In particular, the Russian Alexander Tcherepnin (Алекса́ндр Черепни́н, 1899–1977) was a significant figure in supporting Japanese-style composers and introducing them to the international scene. Apart from teaching Kiyose and Ifukube Akira (伊福部昭, 1914–2006), he published scores and organized performances of Japanese works overseas through the Tcherepnin Competition (Katayama 2007, 58). As a proponent of Russian national composers, Tcherepnin saw that the Japanese national school was at the same stage that Russia had been in the mid-nineteenth century (Cherepunin 1936, 4). He wanted to advance similar tendencies in Japan, and supported Japanese-style composers like Kiyose, Matsudaira, and Ifukube. Matsudaira also emphasized Tcherepnin's influence on music itself, by stating that Tcherepnin clarified in which direction Japanese composers should advance (Matsudaira 1969a, 30).

Most of the works awarded in competitions for Japanese composers, like the Tcherepnin Competition, were by rule audibly “Japanese” in style (Hanaoka 2007, 15). In the context that composers could now receive international recognition by adopting Japanese elements in their music, it is not surprising that the latter half of the 1930s saw a rise in works that took inspiration from traditional culture, or from a larger Asian context (Katayama 2007, 59). This also marked the spread of Japanese elements into the work of those who originally did not represent the national school—including academic composers.

By the late 1930s, Japanese-style composition had already grown to a prominent idiom, to the degree that it became the subject of heated discussions. Whether Japanese composers should compose Japanese-style music or not, and what would be the appropriate foundation for a Japanese musical idiom, were the core issues addressed in the debates. The arguments have been already well covered by Komiya (1976), Galliano (2002, 98–99; 114–117), and Akiyama (2003, 516–544), all of whom suggest that they involved not only artistic but also political viewpoints. This is, for example, exemplified in the way that the influential music critic Yamane Ginji (山根銀二, 1906–1982) and composer Hara Tarō (原太郎, 1904–1988) criticized Japanese-style composers for “denying external influences.”³⁹ The same line of argumentation was taken further by composer Fukai Shirō (深井史郎,

Western-style composition, but simply presenting some aspects of it separated from their true contexts.

³⁹ Note how this resonates with Bohlman's (2004, 81) definition of nationalist music as “the cultural defense of borders.”

1907–1959), who blasted the national school for works suitable for “souvenir shops” (see Akiyama 1979, 24–25), and warned that Japanese-style composition would lead to fascism (see Akiyama 2003, 519). Not surprisingly, these claims were denied by the composers of the national school—they being followers of a fundamentally Western tradition of music, and thus never denying external influences (Komiya 1976, 91; Akiyama 2003, 529).

Yamane, Hara, and Fukai were all members of the Japanese Proletarian Music League, which explains why they were wary of any potential suggestions of fascism, an ideology that was otherwise not as generally condemned before the war as it is today. Implication of fascism was, indeed, obvious in some Japanese-style works of the late 1930s, inspired by the social changes and governmental wish for nationalist music (Kiyose 1936c, 11). More substantial argumentation on how Japanese-style composition was viewed in musical terms, however, was presented by Moroi Saburō. According to Moroi (1937), the national school had misunderstood Japanese-style composition and focused on imitating superficial qualities of traditional music—such as scales, harmony, and timbre—without offering any thought to the most fundamental differences between Japanese and European traditions.⁴⁰ This, in Moroi’s opinion, resulted in works written only to meet foreign expectations of audibly Japanese music. Moroi also shared Hara’s view that adopting these kinds of elements was a method inappropriate for the portrayal of contemporary society, as it denied the apparent Western influence in Japan. Rather than searching for a Japanese quality in the past, Moroi asserted that Japanese music should reflect the developing society as well as the turbulent political situation; this would result in essentially “Japanese” music (Moroi 1937, 39–43).

The rise of these debates not only reflects the complex nature of ideas and values that Japanese-style composition encompassed from political to artistic—it also shows that the topic had become an increasingly prominent issue. Putting focus on purely methodological aspects, Galliano (2002, 99) suggests that one reason that the debates did not to grow into constructive discussions was that traditional music had not yet been studied sufficiently. In fact, the debates discuss the matter on a musical level to a surprisingly small extent. Some aspects on the fundamental differences between Western and traditional Japanese music had been pointed out by Sunaga (1934), and Tanabe (1919) had done extensive research on traditional music. Still, it was only in the postwar period when generally-accepted theories of traditional music were established. This, as well, emphasizes the social implications rather than the musical issues involved in the debates. While composers like Mitsukuri (1929, 7), Kiyose (1930b, 17), and Moroi (1935, 11) called for co-operation to develop Japanese music together, conflicting views and various disputes of the 1930s ended up dividing composers rather than uniting them.

⁴⁰ This can be also interpreted as criticism of impressionist composition. Pacun (2012, 24) has previously recognized the same type of criticism in the accounts of Klaus Pringsheim in the 1930s.

Still, the 1930s were fundamentally characterized by development. Although the focus has been solely on composition here, the events described above were in constant interaction with the other changes taking place in technological progress and music culture. Radio broadcasts began in Japan in 1925, and the professional record industry was established in 1927.⁴¹ The public became increasingly familiar with the profession of a composer, which was virtually unknown in the beginning of the decade (Kiyose 1963a, 13). The first music competition to introduce a category for composition, Ongaku konkuru (Music Competition), was established in 1932,⁴² and composers like Yamada, Nakayama Shinpei, and the popular song writer Koga Masao (古賀政男, 1904–1978) became national celebrities. Although most musical activities were focused on Tokyo, the New Music Federation (Shin ongaku renmei)—a group that shared the same goals as Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei—was founded in 1934 in Hokkaidō. Its members Ifukube Akira and Hayasaka Fumio (早坂文雄, 1914–1955) were later acknowledged as two of the most prominent Japanese-style composers of the prewar generation.⁴³ Composition and these other developments supported each other: for example, the foundation of orchestras contributed to the creation of orchestral works, and vice versa (Kojima 1976, 65).

Despite the debates, composers also achieved results based on collaboration. The 1920s and 1930s saw the formation of many composer groups and federations gathered around a shared aesthetic or ideological aim (Akiyama 1979, 12–24)—a tendency that Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei also represented. Furthermore, Western art music composition in Japan of the mid-1930s was increasingly diverse. While many composers were not aware of international trends⁴⁴ and some criticized the undeveloped level of the music culture,⁴⁵ composers and musicians alike represented myriad views and approaches, and began forming contacts overseas. What eventually put an end to these developments was the war.

⁴¹ Radio broadcasts in Japan began in March 1925. The music broadcasted was mainly for “elite” tastes, meaning Western-style composition, Western popular music, and popular songs by some of the established Japanese composers of the time (e.g. Azami 2004, 101–102; Nagahara 2017, 78). Establishment of the record industry has been well covered by Kurata (1992).

⁴² It later changed its name to Nippon ongaku konkuru—the name by which it is known today.

⁴³ Particularly Hayasaka’s ideas on Japanese-style composition have been viewed as prominent after the war (Galliano 2002, 133). He was an active essayist and theorist, although many of his writings were discovered only posthumously (Akiyama 2003, 480). Hayasaka and Ifukube later moved to Tokyo, Hayasaka in 1936 and Ifukube in 1938.

⁴⁴ Matsudaira was a good example of this. He later reminisced originally embracing French Impressionism as a “modern” musical language, but being shocked to hear from Tchérenin that it was no longer a new trend in Europe in the 1930s (Matsudaira 1954a, 12).

⁴⁵ This is exemplified in Ōsawa Hisato’s (大澤壽人, 1906–1953) experience of returning to Japan after spending four years in the USA. He was deeply moved by concerts of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and also became the first Japanese to conduct it himself in 1933. After returning to Japan and hearing a performance of Wagner by a Japanese orchestra, however, Ōsawa felt that the “dream experienced in the West had collapsed” (Ōsawa 1952, 71).

2.3 Japanese-style composition, nationalism, and state control

The political developments of the 1930s changed Japanese society fundamentally. Ultranationalist ideas and opposition to liberalism and Western values had been strong in the military already from the 1920s, but these developments burst out irrevocably with the invasion of Manchuria in 1931 (Crowley 1974; Spizlman 2004; Tsutsui ed. 2015).⁴⁶ After this, Japan became more obsessed with territorial expansion, justified by the idea that Japan taking a lead in liberating neighboring countries from Western influence would result in a peaceful, prosperous, and unified Asia. The 1930s saw many incidents of political terrorism bringing instability to the society, including the assassination of Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi (犬養毅) in May 1932. Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in March 1933 as a protest over other countries' demand that Japan remove its troops from Manchuria. In February 1936, radical army officers attempted a coup in Tokyo; it was not halted until three days later, after Emperor Hirohito (Shōwa Emperor, 1901–1989) had issued an imperial command to do so. The suppression of the uprising finally put an end to terrorism, but already in July 1937 the Second Sino-Japanese War was launched. In September 1940 Japan, Germany, and Italy signed the Tripartite Pact, and in December 1941 Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, which marked the beginning of the Pacific War.⁴⁷

These political developments cast their shadow over music as well. Control over record and sheet music publishing began in 1934 with new legislation (e.g. Yamazumi 1976, 143).⁴⁸ Especially after the uprising of 1936, state control over society in general was enforced, and Prime Minister Hirota Kōki (廣田弘毅) condemned liberalism as unacceptable (see Yamazumi 1976, 140). The outbreak of the war with China further enforced these rules, to the degree that civil rights ceased to exist (Ienaga 1978, 97). The development of music was virtually halted after it became clear that the Second Sino-Japanese War was more than just a local dispute (Shibaike 1996, 243), and after the outbreak of the Pacific War the possibility of encountering external influences was cut off (Katayama 2007, 59).⁴⁹ This resulted in a situation where movements interested in modern Western expression faded away (Akiyama 1979, 42).

⁴⁶ Some (e.g., Skya 2004, 133) even suggest that World War II launched in 1931 with this incident.

⁴⁷ There is not enough space here to discuss these developments sufficiently to cover all the complexities and issues related to the rise of nationalism in Japan. For more on the events and issues eventually leading to war, see Tsutsui (ed. 2015) and, for example, Morley (ed. 1971), Silberman and Harootunian (eds. 1974), Ienaga (1978), McClain (2002), Tipton (2002), Reynolds (ed. 2004), or Dickinson (2013).

⁴⁸ To be more precise, the preventive censorship that already existed in the press and radio broadcasts was extended to music publishers as well. For more on censorship in the media of the time, see Kasza (1993) and Nagahara (2017).

⁴⁹ According to Havens (2006, 2), this state of “halted development” continued until 1952, when Japan regained self-rule from the US occupation.

The developments affected Japanese-style composers as well. They were associated with ultranationalism in the press as early as the beginning of the 1930s, even when not implying such ideologies (e.g. Kiyose 1963a, 14–15; Akiyama 2003, 525). When the state began to emphasize the importance of nationalist music toward the end of the 1930s, however, the topic became prominent among all Japanese composers. A call for nationalist works was made in 1936 by Matsumoto Manabu (松本学) of the Home Ministry, who emphasized the importance of national unity; in musical terms, this meant a desire for composers to adopt Japanese elements in their work (see Akiyama 2003, 517–518). Many answered the call by composing pompous works with a superficial touch of Japanese folk music (Galliano 2002, 116). Music was considered an important propaganda tool; Captain Hiraide Hideo (平出英夫) of the Imperial Japanese Navy went as far as to state that musicians were to blame if people seemed unhappy (see Yamazumi 1976, 150). Government organizations also commissioned works to encourage nationalism in the public. A well-known example is Nobutoki Kiyoshi's song *If I Go to the Sea* (*Umi yukaba*, 1937), with its lyrics glorifying death for the sake of the emperor; it was sung virtually as a second national anthem of Japan during the war (Shinpo 2005, 2).

Even under these restrictions, however, composers were able to retain a certain level of artistic freedom. While strongly endorsing nationalist music taking the Japanese Empire or a larger Asian context as a theme, government organizations did not specify their preference for musical style (Katayama 2007, 59–60).⁵⁰ This meant not only that musical styles of “enemy countries”—such as French Impressionism or modernism—were not banned, but also that the use of Japanese elements was not directly demanded, either. The writer Nakajima Kenzō (中島健蔵, 1903–1979) even later reminisced being envious of musicians, who were allowed to work relatively freely compared with anyone in the field of verbal arts (Nakajima et al. 1956, 38). More than composers of Western-style music, government organizations controlled the production of popular songs, which were thought of as an effective propaganda tool (e.g. Yamazumi 1976; Kasza 2003, 256–258). This was most apparent in jazz, which was eventually deemed as “enemy music” and banned—although eventually, even jazz was harnessed to support state nationalism (Atkins 2001, 131).

The call for nationalist music did contribute, however, to the creation of new Japanese-style works. Somewhat curiously, the state had put so much emphasis on the value and prestige of Western art music—German in particular—that opposing voices demanded more support for traditional

⁵⁰ In this sense, Japan was a different case from national socialist Germany and the Soviet Union, and resembled fascist Italy, instead. Emphasizing the larger Asian context had to do with the idea of Japan taking the lead in unifying Asia as one cultural sphere. Traditional music was exploited in this quest, as well; for example, Hosokawa (1998) has described how Tanabe Hisao justified Japanese imperialism in Asia with *gagaku* by emphasizing how the originally Chinese tradition had been preserved and cultivated in Japan.

Japanese music (see Nagahara 2017, 71). The beauty and spiritual importance of Japanese instruments such as the *shakuhachi*, *koto*, and *shamisen*, for example, eventually became emphasized in propaganda (Kasza 1993, 257). Toward the late 1930s, several competitions and events were held with commissions of new musical works on a Japanese theme. Of these, two are particularly notable in that the state was involved in both. The first was the commission of *kokuminshikyoku*—a series of seventeen orchestral works requiring the use of folk song melodies and reflecting Japan and the Japanese mentality (e.g. Yamane 1939, 65–66).⁵¹ The works were premiered as broadcasts on JOAK—the national radio station in Tokyo—from 1938 to 1940. This included works by composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei as well.⁵² Another large-scale event that contributed to the birth of works with Japanese elements—and heated up the discussion about what was “Japanese” in music—was the celebration to commemorate the 2600th anniversary of the founding of the Japanese empire in 1940 (e.g. Akiyama 1979, 39).⁵³ A significant number of Japanese composers wrote works for the festivities,⁵⁴ and works were also commissioned from European composers Benjamin Britten, Jacques Ibert, Ildebrando Pizzetti, Richard Strauss, and Sándor Veress, each of them representing their own country.

Both *kokuminshikyoku* and the festivities of 1940 exemplify how versatile the approaches to Japanese-style composition were even under the call for nationalist music—and how uninterested the state was in controlling musical styles. *Kokuminshikyoku* was based on the idea of using folk songs, but did not specify further wishes for musical style, whereas the festivities of 1940 granted even more freedom of expression. Yamada’s symphonic poem *Divine Wind* (*Kamikaze*),⁵⁵ for example, was written for the festivities but in a relatively modern style. The work portrays Japanese history in a heroic manner, and does contain pompous elements in German-style idiom of the Late Romantic period, but at the same time it includes atonal sections and makes close to no allusions to traditional music. Should this type of idiom have been resented by the state, it would seem unlikely that Yamada would have written such a work; he was, after all, one of the few composers actively supporting state nationalism (e.g. Chōki 2005).

⁵¹ *Kokuminshikyoku* (国民詩曲) is somewhat difficult to translate, but means “music of national poems,” or “national poems [musical] works.”

⁵² Four founding composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei were commissioned *kokuminshikyoku* works: Kiyose Yasuji, Matsudaira Yoritsune, Sugawara Meirō, and Yamamoto Naotada (山本直忠, 1904–1965).

⁵³ The anniversary was, however, based on mythic imperial history rather than historical facts.

⁵⁴ These included, among others, Hashimoto Kunihiro, Hayasaka Fumio, Ifukube Akira, Kiyose Yasuji, Mitsukuri Shūkichi, Nobutoki Kiyoshi, and Yamada Kōsaku.

⁵⁵ Although the title is nationalist, *kamikaze* (“divine wind”) did not mean suicide pilots in 1940, unlike after the war. Originally, the word was used to refer to the storm that destroyed the fleet of Mongolian invaders trying to reach Japan twice, in 1274 and in 1281. As this was considered a miracle, it came to be known as the “divine wind.”

It would be tempting to see the scarcity of modernist expression as a result of government restrictions. Still, this was not due to direct governmental policies. Katayama (2007, 56) suggests that, more than due to regulations or suppression from the government, the reason was that modern music was too difficult for the audiences, critics, performers, and composers alike. Akiyama (1975b, 60–61) notes that the Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei composer Itō Noboru's atonal works of the 1930s were simply not understood by contemporary Japanese. As modern European music was difficult to encounter in Japan in the 1930s (Kiyose 1963a, 15), it was down to each composers' personal connections and language skills whether they were able to get their hands on musical scores at all (Chōki 2010, 140). In 1937, Hashimoto (1937a, 35) wryly commented that most Japanese composers would only be able to adopt dodecaphony or microintervals as mere “pedantic dogmas”—meaning that they still lacked a deeper understanding of these kinds of compositional techniques. This began to change only in the postwar period.

Overall, composition in Japan of the 1930s was contradictory in many aspects. On the one hand, music went through interesting stages of development: new compositional methods and schools emerged, and composers began to show an interest in how to express nationality in music. This also contributed to their search for original expression and their own voices in an international context. On the other hand, nationalist militarism eventually led to the Pacific War, which made it impossible for composers to encounter new influences. Somewhat paradoxically, both tendencies contributed to the birth of new Japanese-style works. Possibly resulting from the prevalent nationalist tendency, however, all Japanese-style composition of the time was later deemed to be “ultranationalist” (Akiyama 1979, 41). The situation was a conflicting one for composers. As Akiyama (*ibid.*, 40) puts it, the debates and disputes about Japanese-style composition notwithstanding, one thing shared by all composers active during the war was that they had to face an inner crisis.

2.4 Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei—a composer federation on a search for new music

Composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei played a critical role in the compositional sphere of the 1930s, both by organizing performances of new music and introducing novel aspects in their own work. The society was founded by eleven composers, four musicians, and one critic on April 28, 1930 in Tokyo.⁵⁶ Its founding was inspired by the desire to promote new music and

⁵⁶ The founders were (in alphabetical order): composers Hashimoto Kunihiro, Ike Yuzuru (池譲, 1902–1990), Ishii Gorō (石井五郎, 1909–1990), Itō Noboru, Kiyose Yasuji, Komatsu Heigorō, Komatsu Kiyoshi, Matsudaira Yoritsune, Mitsukuri Shūkichi, Sugawara Meirō, and Yamamoto Naotada; critic Shioiri Kamesuke (塩入亀輔, 1900–1938); pianists Kondō Hakujiro (近藤栢次郎, 1900–1932) and Oida Kōkichi (笈田光吉, 1902–1964); cellist and conductor Saitō Hideo (斎藤秀雄, 1902–1974); and cellist Suzuki

support anyone with the same goal. This interest in the new is indicated in the society's name, as *shinkō* was associated with avant-garde in the 1930s (Akiyama 1979, 42). Originally, indeed, Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was what could even be called an avant-garde group.⁵⁷ Mitsukuri poured his enthusiasm into gathering the sixteen founding members—with active cooperation from Komatsu Heigorō, the brother of Komatsu Kōsuke and Kiyoshi⁵⁸—to form a society of composers interested in modern musical idioms that were not largely present in the Japan of the time. The idea was rebellious; Matsudaira (1969a, 30) later described the society as a radical “antithesis” of the predominant German-style composition. That Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was as an antithesis is argued by Matsushita (1999, 1) and Akiyama (2003, 271) as well: both of them see the founding of the group as a sign of opposition to established composers, their societies, and the academic style that they represented.⁵⁹

It soon became clear, however, that instead of remaining a small and cohesive avant-garde group, Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei would take a different path. It attracted new members only some days after its founding, and eventually grew to be one of the biggest composer societies in Japan, as the Japanese branch of the International Society for Contemporary Music (hereafter, ISCM). This resulted in versatile and diverse approaches, a tendency that became even more apparent at later stages. Matsudaira, who had originally thought of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei as a radical antithesis, later recalled the early steps of the society in more bitter terms, and criticized the “unfocused” nature that eventually turned the originally small association into a more public society (in Akiyama 2003, 287–288).

Considering the context of the foundation of the society—with modern expression as the main motivation—Japanese-style composition was possibly only one style represented by the founding composers. However, it was a significant one: Komiya (1976, 99) and Akiyama (1979, 12), among others, have taken notice of the founding composers' ambitions to incorporate Japanese elements into Western art music composition. It is no less remarkable that many of the founding composers represented the frontline of

Fumio (鈴木二三雄, 1900–1945). The division into composers and performers was, however, originally not that strict; although listed as musicians here, Oida, Saitō, and Suzuki composed some works at the early stages of their careers. And vice versa: practically all composers were also musicians or conductors. See list of those involved with the society in Someya et al. (1999, 360–378).

⁵⁷ As defined by Souriau, avant-garde seeks to “break with tradition, convention, and permanent schools” (see Tarasti 2012, 32).

⁵⁸ Three of the Komatsu brothers were involved in the music world of Japan. Komatsu Kōsuke was the oldest and one of the “established” composers, whereas his younger brothers Heigorō and Kiyoshi were among the founding members of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei.

⁵⁹ Most likely because the search for new styles largely equaled the search for styles other than German composition, Akiyama and Matsushita associate the society with the aim of opposing established composers like Yamada, Komatsu Kōsuke, and Nakayama Shinpei. However, Yamada, for example, shared the interest in modern music and joined the organization as early as in 1932. Rather than opposing academic composers, the society opposed their compositional styles.

Japanese-style composition of the time;⁶⁰ furthermore, as Komiya (1976, 99) notes, most prewar discussion on Japanese-style composition took place during the lifetime of the society. Some (e.g. Herd 2004, 44–45) even suggest that Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was originally founded on the idea of following a certain compositional principle to synthesize Western and Japanese expression. However, no such principle is listed in the documents of the society, and furthermore, the lack of a consistent, shared approach becomes clear when examining the writings and musical works of the composers (see Chapters 4 and 5, and Someya et al. 1999). While centered around the idea of promoting new music, Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was not a homogenous society in terms of compositional techniques or ideals. Other societies and groups, such as the avant-gardist School of New Music (Shin ongakuha), were also founded by composers of the society. Above all, Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was a group in which the members shared one common goal, but did not necessarily share their personal goals as composers.

Aside from Mitsukuri and Shioiri, all founders worked as professional musicians or conductors (Komiya 1976, 97). This is an important observation in that it was reflected in the actions and the course that the society would take. To promote contemporary music, the group started organizing concerts and open rehearsals (see Someya et al. 1999, 9). Many small-scale works heard in these gatherings were performed by the composers of the society, but they also worked in cooperation with ensembles such as New Symphony Orchestra (Shin kōkyō gakudan), National Symphony Orchestra (Kokumin kōkyō gakudan), Suzuki Quartet, and Crystal Quartet (Komiya 1976, 97).⁶¹

One of the achievements of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was, indeed, the promotion of new music in both performances and radio broadcasts. The first such event was an open trial performance of contemporary Japanese music—works by members of the society—in June 1930. While the concert caught the attention of the Japanese media (see Someya et al. 1999, 20), it was eventually attended by only a few listeners (Kiyose 1963a, 14). However, after having been praised by some critics (ibid.), works by the composers were performed on JOAK—the national radio station in Tokyo. The program of only 30 minutes contained works by eleven composers. From 1933, the society began organizing concerts more regularly. During its decade of activity, Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei organized 29 performances of contemporary Japanese music—including open rehearsals and other smaller performances—as well as

⁶⁰ For example, in the debates on Japanese-style composition, works and approaches by Kiyose, Mitsukuri, and Sugawara were addressed directly (see Akiyama 2003, 534–535); furthermore, they were commissioned works for both *kokuminshikyoku* and the celebrations of 1940.

⁶¹ All these ensembles had a connection with composers of the society. The National Symphony Orchestra was directed by Komatsu Heigorō, and Saitō Hideo was employed in the orchestra. The Suzuki Quartet was formed by Suzuki Fumio and his brothers—including Suzuki Shin'ichi (鈴木鎮一, 1898–1998), the inventor of the Suzuki teaching method.

a concert of contemporary German works.⁶² In addition to this, works by members of the society were performed in nine of the regular gatherings of the society.

Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei also had its works performed on the radio three times. Although these broadcasts received attention in the media, the newspaper *Asahi Shinbun* (Anonymous 1933, 5) revealed the circumstances enabling these broadcasts: the national radio stations had royalty issues with Western copyright holders, which made the broadcasting of Japanese works more convenient than Western recordings. Thus, the broadcasts were not necessarily a sign of rising interest in contemporary Japanese music. What they did contribute to, however, was the recognition of Japanese composers in general (Komiya 1976, 98). In addition to performances, the society organized various gatherings and discussion events, and hosted foreign composers visiting Japan, like Alexandre Tansman in March 1933. Apart from these actions, literary contributions by the two non-musicians were notable in gaining attention to the group, as well: Shioiri was the chief editor of the music journal *Ongaku sekai* (Music World), which published many of the founding composers' works as scores, and in 1933, Mitsukuri was among the founders of the journal *Ongaku hyōron* (Music Critique), which hosted a regular page for the society.

In these actions, there are also signs of a rebellion against the music world of the time. All composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei were relatively young at the founding of the society, the youngest being Matsudaira (23) and the oldest Mitsukuri (33). For young, unestablished composers, the only way to have their works performed was to organize concerts themselves. From this point of view, Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was also a group offering opportunities to present works and ideas that were possibly not accepted by established composers and institutions.⁶³ At the same time, this explains why those writing music in more “academic” and generally accepted styles—including Hashimoto, Mitsukuri, and Yamamoto—were also interested in founding the society. Aside from Hashimoto and Ike, none of the founding composers had studied at the Tokyo Academy of Music, although many—for example, Kiyose, Mitsukuri, and Yamamoto—had studied composition in Europe, or in Japan from established composers.⁶⁴

⁶² The number of performances given, as five during the years 1930–1935 and 13 during the years 1936–1940 by Komiya (1976, 97) and Galliano (2002, 82), apparently refers to the number of major concerts, excluding trial performances and other smaller events. The number 29, as well as other information here, is based on the lists in Someya et al. (1999, 304–318).

⁶³ To some extent, this has not changed in Japan of today, either. As noted by composer Yokoyama Mioko (横山未央子, b.1989), contemporary Japanese music culture is hierarchic and puts an emphasis on respecting older composers rather than giving opportunities to younger ones (Yokoyama 2016).

⁶⁴ Many studies claim that Hashimoto was the only founding composer trained at the Tokyo Academy of Music (e.g. Komiya 1976, 97; Galliano 2002, 82). Ike had also, however, studied violin at the same school—although he completed his studies in Germany (Someya et al. 1999, 361).

The year 1934 marked the beginning of gradual changes for music in the Japan of the time. Censorship was enforced in general (Yamazumi 1976), and leftist movements—including the Japanese Proletarian Music League—came under oppression. Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was potentially under suspicion as well, as the word *shinkō* was associated with proletarian movements, parallel to European avant-garde groups (Akiyama 1979, 15).⁶⁵ Because of this, the society changed its name to the Modern Composer Federation of Japan (Kindai Nippon sakkyokuka renmei) in 1934, and again to the Japanese Federation for Contemporary Composers (Nippon gendai sakkyokuka renmei) in 1935. At this stage, virtually all Japanese composers interested in modern styles joined the society (Akiyama 1979, 14). The number of members reached its peak in 1939 with 116 people (Someya et al. 1999, 403). In 1935, Moroi was accepted as a board member of the society, and it was thanks to Moroi's and Mitsukuri's efforts, and possibly even more importantly to Tcherepnin's efforts, that the Japanese Federation for Contemporary Composers became the Japanese branch of the ISCM in 1935 (Akiyama 1979, 18; Hosokawa and Katayama 2008, 648).

This also introduced the society to the international scene. Some works by Japanese composers were performed in Europe already during the first half of the 1930s (Katayama 2007, 57), but the number grew notably with the foundation of the Japanese Federation for Contemporary Composers. It was possibly the most international music society in the Japan of the 1930s: the Federation took part in the World Music Conferences of the ISCM in 1937 and 1938, and in 1937 works by composers of the society were performed in Karlsruhe in a concert entitled “An Evening of Music from the Far East” (see Someya et al. 1999, 280). In the latter half of the 1930s, Tcherepnin had numerous works by the composers performed in Europe (Katayama 2007, 58), and there were concerts and radio broadcasts of music by the composers in several European countries (see Someya et al. 1999).⁶⁶

Despite these promising developments, however, the Japanese Federation for Contemporary Composers saw its end due to political developments. The society was disbanded on November 20, 1940 by order of the government. The order encompassed all associations, including political parties. They were to form a new entity in the New Order (*Shintaisei*)⁶⁷ promoted by Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro (近衛文麿)—the brother of the conductor and composer Konoe Hidemaro (近衛秀麿, 1898–1973). At the time of disbandment, 66 members belonged to the society (Someya et al. 1999, 404). The umbrella

⁶⁵ Possibly because of this, Katayama (2007, 56) even suggests that Hashimoto's and Itō's radical works were a type of discreet artistic opposition toward the establishment.

⁶⁶ At these later stages, the versatility of the group became notable. For example, Fukai Shirō, who joined Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei in 1934, was among the founders of the composer group Promethe, which strongly opposed Japanese-style composition (see Akiyama 1979, 21).

⁶⁷ New Order was the term used for the social order that emphasized national homogeneity. It featured the idea that all activities of a certain field would be gathered under one umbrella organization.

society Alliance to Promote the New Order in the Musical World (Gakudanshintaisei sokushin dōmei) was founded to encompass all musical activities. It was replaced in 1941 by the Association for Japanese Music Culture (Nihon ongaku bunka kyōkai), which operated until the end of the war.

The current Japanese branch of the ISCM, the Japan Society for Contemporary Music, as it is called in English (JSCM; Nihon gendai ongaku kyōkai), was re-established in 1946.⁶⁸ Of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei, Mitsukuri and Kiyose were among its founders; Mitsukuri also assumed the position of its first chair. Possibly seeking to avoid the dispersion that eventually characterized Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei, however, those composers that were now acknowledged as the forefront of Japanese-style composition founded their own society, the Society for New Wave Composition (Shin sakkyokuha kyōkai), in 1946. The group is famous because the young Takemitsu Tōru (武満徹, 1930–1996) was its member. In general, the postwar years marked the beginning of a new period in Japanese composition. Many composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei found themselves in a situation where they were now opposed as “established composers.” Kishibe (1969, 14), for example, regarded it as a positive phenomenon that the influence of prewar composers was eventually to be small in the newly-established JSCM.

One reason for this might have to do with the postwar generation’s opposition to wartime nationalism. Japanese elements were treated with caution after the war because of their potentially nationalist connotations (Akiyama 1979, 46).⁶⁹ For example, Hashimoto, a versatile modernist and a composer of popular songs as well, practically lost his status as a leading composer after the war because of some of his nationalist works. One composer to follow an opposite course was Matsudaira, who had stopped presenting his works during the war, and who did not take part in the nationalist trends. He became an appreciated figure in the postwar period among young composers as well.⁷⁰

During its ten years of activity, Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei offers an interesting view of the Japanese compositional scene, as a group that sought to develop Western-style composition and, in some cases, accomplish this by adopting elements from traditional Japanese music. According to Komiya (1976, 99), the society succeeded in three causes above all: in 1) promoting instrumental music, 2) becoming closer to foreign music and adopting new influences from it, and 3) bringing the profession of composer into wider knowledge, and having it recognized in society. Akiyama (1979, 11), however,

⁶⁸ JSCM became the Japanese branch of ISCM in 1949.

⁶⁹ The same eventually happened, however, to the postwar generation with the rise of radical student movements in the late 1960s. For example, Sakamoto Ryūichi (坂本龍一, b. 1952), known for his film scores, later reminisced how he organized a demonstration against Takemitsu for representing the “far right” because of his works for Japanese instruments (Sakamoto 2009, 84).

⁷⁰ However, Matsudaira’s prewar music has not attracted as much attention as his works of the postwar period.

points out that the influences on compositional style in the 1930s were still solely one-sided; that is, Japanese composers were ultimately not free of the idea of following the “advanced West.” Even so, Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei represented a musical internationalism exceptional in the Japan of the 1930s. These trends might have eventually become as successful as the approaches by postwar Japanese composers, had the war not interrupted their development.

3 Analyzing Japanese elements in musical works

Concepts such as “Japanese elements” and “Japanese-style composition” have been mentioned already several times. In a wider, international context, “Japanese” is interchangeable with “national:” either as musical characteristics associable with a specific “nationality,” or as a perceived, fundamental quality characterizing the music overall. But how can one assess if a musical work contains national elements, and on what basis does a work become “national” or, more specifically, “Japanese”? These are questions that I address in this chapter. Chapters 3.1 and 3.2 introduce viewpoints to assessing the “national” in Western art music on a general level, and Chapter 3.3 discusses some issues related specifically to the concept of “Japanese.” In Chapter 3.4, I propose an approach for identifying Japanese elements in musical works.

3.1 Approaching Japanese elements as a musical discourse

The “national” in music is a complex network of ideological, historical, social, aesthetic, political, and philosophical concepts, and exceeds the mere adoption of musical characteristics as expression of a locality.⁷¹ As Murphy (2001, 2) notes, it is impossible to recognize a normative definition of “national” in theoretical literature: the term can serve as a starting point to assess, for example, cultural, ethnic, or regional classifications. Particularly influential in discussion on the concept are several studies from the 1980s, which emphasize the “imaginary” nature of nations and traditions, or nations as social inventions rather than objective truths. This aspect was introduced already by Gellner (e.g. 1964), but became particularly notable in the studies by Anderson (2006 [1983]), Hobsbawm and Ranger (eds. 1983), and Smith (1986). Not surprisingly, they influenced discussion on the concept of nationality in Western art music as well. Whereas many older (Abraham 1949), but also somewhat more recent (Finscher 1984), accounts focus primarily on the national as musical expression—particularly locating “folk qualities” and measuring the artistic “successfulness” of musical works by how well they manage to integrate these elements into the tradition of Western art music—recent scholarship has discussed both the creation and use of music in national and nationalist contexts as a process involving social and cultural aspects (e.g. Stokes ed. 1997; Bohlman 2004; Curtis 2008).

⁷¹ Dahlhaus (1989); Stokes (ed. 1997); Taruskin (1997); Murphy and White (eds. 2001); Steinberg (2004); Bohlman (2004); Curtis (2008).

Instead of regarding the “national” in music as solely either a social construct or as musical material, however, the two often become intertwined. In this approach, musical characteristics recognizable as national elements are considered reflections of the time and place of their emergence (e.g. Taruskin 1997; White and Murphy eds. 2001; Steinberg 2004). This viewpoint—not related solely to the use of individual musical elements but also to music in a wider perspective—regards musical works as what could be called a *discourse* rather than as autonomous objects of art detached from the surrounding society (Dahlhaus 1983). In this context, they become cultural-historical subjects “trying to do” something (Steinberg 2004, 4)—that is, conveying ideas and values related to the social and temporal context of their emergence.

The present study also follows this view of the role of national elements in musical works. Although locating and recognizing Japanese elements is based on music analysis, it is not applied only to recognize certain characteristics as expressions of a Japanese quality, but also to understand what further aim they serve, and what meanings they convey and imply in their socio-cultural sphere. To phrase it more simply, the question posed by this study is not only what Japanese elements in music *are*, but also what they *represent*.

When assessing both questions, it is important, already here, to recognize the differences between the aims of musical nationalism in prewar Japan and Europe. Western art music composition and nationalism originated in Japan in an entirely different context than in the West—both historically and socially—and, as the examples in this study show, it did not necessarily involve the issues that fascinated composers in nineteenth-century Europe.⁷² Whereas European “national composers” were absorbed in their “national projects,” that is, nation-building by musical means and voicing the spirit of the people or the “folk” (Bohlman 2004; Steinberg 2004; Curtis 2008), the Japanese national school followed a different course. At the same time, the use of Japanese elements also escapes the later criticism of orientalism in the West (most famously, Said 1978; see also Locke 2009), as Japanese composers were expressing their own culture—albeit through a Western form of art.

When Japanese-style composition emerged in the late 1920s, the profession of composer was still obscure in the eyes of the Japanese public (Kiyose 1963a, 13). Furthermore, the national school mostly represented the unestablished “outsiders” in the hierarchic music world, and had difficulties in presenting their works and ideas to the public in general. In this context, it seems unlikely that they were on a quest to build up the Japanese nation by musical means in the same sense as their Western counterparts.⁷³ This began to change only in the late 1930s, with *kokuminshikyoku* and events like the festivities of 1940, but as discussed, they also involved other composers than

⁷² For more on differences between Japanese and Western modernism in general, see Tsukatani (1976) and Silverberg (2006).

⁷³ The only exception here was possibly Yamada Kōsaku, who was well aware of his role as a leading composer and a “musical ambassador” of Japan (e.g. Pacun 2006, 72). As discussed in Chapter 2.2, it was in the late 1930s when the profession of composer became more widely recognized and understood.

those in the original national school. Furthermore, they were projects initiated by state nationalism rather than a romantic idea of conveying the voice of the people by musical means.

Of course, nation-building through music was also one possible aim for composers in Japan, but not a prominent one. Ishida Shigeru⁷⁴ (1938) even criticized composers of the time for having no connection with the people, and focusing solely on elitist artistic ambitions. In this respect, the Japanese national school was more closely linked with modernist European composers and thought rather than nineteenth-century romantics.⁷⁵ For the same reason, the analysis in this study does not focus on Japanese-style composition as a “national project,” or emphasize the significance of a “national reception” like Dahlhaus (1989, 87), but rather examines it as various courses taken by individual composers.

The question of what Japanese elements *are* is approached through music analysis; a method for this is proposed below. To recognize and identify these elements in the first place, emphasis is placed not solely on musical characteristics as such, but also on examination of the composers’ views about Japanese music and culture, to understand how they perceived the use of Japanese elements and how they sought to express their ideas musically. Here, one is tempted to adapt Bohlman’s (2004) and Curtis’s (2008, 32–33) view of European composers consciously participating in building the “national” through musical works to analysis of musical material. Although both refer to music promoting the “national projects” in Europe, the appearance of national elements in musical works can, similarly, be considered a compositional method applied by composers intentionally to reach a specific goal. Here, again, we encounter an aspect that differentiated the Japanese national school from their European counterparts. “National composers” such as Sibelius and Nielsen were thought of as representing a “national style” even when their work did not include influences from the traditional music of their countries (see Finscher 1984, 50). By contrast, composers with national styles recognized by the public did not emerge in Japan. This is why emphasis in identifying the “national” in Japanese music is on recognizing musical characteristics associated with Japanese culture.

Defining and identifying Japanese elements in musical material leads, however, only to recognizing the existence of certain musical characteristics. They, as such, do not necessarily “mean” or convey anything, or enclose any further answer to what they represent. Here, again, one could extend Curtis’s (2008, 26) views on the “national” as a social construct to national elements in musical material: the “national” is not something that appears on a score or in performances of music, but ultimately emerges in *ideas about music*, and *ideas about nationalism*. To claim that one could discuss national elements in a “purely” musical context would, in fact, pose a paradox: the recognition of

⁷⁴ Pen name of the philosopher and economist Mita Sekisuke (見田石介, 1906–1975).

⁷⁵ Compare these ideas, for example, with those of the Les Six member Jean Cocteau (1921, 21) about the importance of composing “French” music in France.

musical characteristics as “national qualities” is already an assessment based on a discourse defining which elements can be recognized as “national” in the first place. In this sense, as well, music and conceptions of the national are in constant communication and interaction with their social context—not merely as something that reflect it, but as something that actively participate in forming it.⁷⁶

This leads to the idea of national elements and musical works as discourses addressing phenomena of their time, and calls for examination of their historical context—both social and musical. By this approach, we can form an idea of what they possibly *represent*. Examples of this can include, amongst other things, the suggestion of national identity or an expression of political nationalism—but also the will to develop and renew Western art music from a Japanese point of view, or the desire for international recognition. It is not extraordinary for these various potential motivations to overlap.

To recognize a purpose or aim such as these behind musical elements, this study first examines the composers’ own discussion on their work, Japanese-style music, and Japanese culture and society in general. It should be noted that emphasizing intention in the analysis of Japanese elements differs from seeking to recognize *artistic intention*. Ashby (2004), for example, questions the importance of artistic intention in interpretations of modernist music altogether. However, to understand what a work of music communicates (what it represents), one must first understand what was intended—the adopted compositional techniques and methods (whatever they are). For example, it seems unlikely that a composer would quote a Japanese folk song without the intention to do so.⁷⁷ This, however, does not hint at the meaning or context of the quotation. Recognizing the quotation is merely the first step to examining and discovering what it possibly conveys—be it an aspect ultimately intended or unintended by the composer.

3.2 Recognizing national elements and “national idiom”

As put by Curtis (2008, 31), the national in music does not ultimately exist “*in* music but in the *discourse* about music.” Likewise, the recognition of certain musical characteristics as “national” changes with time as a response to historical events (e.g. Dahlhaus 1989, 80). This leads to a more specific contextualization: as Stokes (ed. 1997) and White and Murphy (eds. 2001) suggest, musical representations of the national should be examined individually in each (music) culture. To be able to identify and understand the meaning of a national element, one has to be familiar with that particular

⁷⁶ Steinberg (2004, 4) has phrased this as a question of seeking to understand what music “*was* trying to do” instead of what it “*is* trying to do,” thus putting more emphasis on the origins of works rather than their artistic contents as perceived today.

⁷⁷ Naturally, an allusion is not always as clear-cut as in a quotation. This is discussed further below for example with more abstract characteristics interpretable as “Japanese qualities.”

culture and the idea of what is *regarded as* national—both on a general level and by the composer whose works are discussed. Still, expressing the national in music has also involved certain similar aspects in different cultures. Therefore, before discussing Japan as an individual case, some remarks need to be made on general issues of locating the “national” in music.

The simplest approach is to regard the national quality as an inevitable characteristic resulting from the cultural or ethnic—that is, “national”—background of a composer. This idea has its roots in Herder’s nineteenth-century philosophy, according to which a national quality originated inevitably from an innate “folk spirit” (*Volksgeist*) (e.g. Krosny 2003, 1194–1195). It is thus emphasized as a perpetual quality rather than as something that alters in response to historical factors. It makes composers “little more than an expressive tool for this vague and mystical spirit of the people” (Curtis 2008, 28). This essentialistic view has already long been questioned (e.g. Dahlhaus 1989, 80), but it is an important issue to recognize not only as a typical discourse on national-style composition in older writings but also in those related to Japanese culture. Although it surfaced in nineteenth-century European nationalism, the idea of a “Japanese spirit” has been a persistently recurring issue in views about music and culture in the postwar period as well. This is discussed in more detail below.

A more substantial, yet simplifying definition of national qualities is that they differ from a “universal” language of music—universal meaning, in this context, primarily German-style composition. The “universality” of German-style composition has already long been challenged (e.g. Vaughan Williams 1934, 3–22), but the idea of recognizing national qualities as musical elements different from it has been widely applied in studies on music (e.g. in Abraham 1949, 247–270). This arises from historical circumstances. Eighteenth-century Germany was such a culturally dispersed area that there was originally no need to stress any national quality. This resulted in composer Johann Joachim Quantz’s (1697–1773) famous statement that ideal music appealed to the widest audience by fusing the best qualities of different nations. According to Quantz (1752, 333), this “universality” was best represented by German music: anyone could easily compose in a national style—such as Italian or French—whereas mastering German techniques of composition required sophistication. In this context, national elements are characteristics that do not fit into the “neutral,” universal compositional style, and thus introduce a new, distinctive quality to the music.

The problem of defining national elements solely as characteristics different from a universal musical language is, however, that the same musical element can be regarded as a “national” quality in the work of composers representing different nationalities. Open fifths and lydic fourths applied by both Chopin and Grieg, for example, have been regarded as particularly “Polish” in Chopin’s case and “Norwegian” in Grieg’s (see Dahlhaus 1989, 95). Another example is Yamada Kōsaku, who tended to use the subdominant in the place of the dominant in some of his works. Galliano (2002, 46) regards

this as an expression of a particularly “Japanese” aesthetic sensibility, whereas Kojima (1962b, 34) presents a more practical viewpoint: by applying the subdominant, early Japanese composers like Yamada wanted to prove more profound knowledge of Western-style composition than those who understood only the more typical tonic-dominant relations. Numerous similar interpretations have been made about works by composers from non-central European countries (Dahlhaus 1989, 95). The use of the subdominant in the place of the dominant has, for example, been regarded as particularly “Russian” in the case of Russian music as well (see Frolova-Walker 1997, 28).

As these examples show, the identification of “national qualities” is often based on the fact that a composer comes from outside central European countries, and easily results in circular reasoning. A more analytical approach is to study national elements as distinctive musical characteristics associable with the culture or nationality that they supposedly represent. At the simplest, this may include adoptions of scales used in traditional music, or the use of a traditional melody as a basis of a composition. For analytical purposes, it is necessary to recognize two different discourses related to national elements defined in this way: the idea of a “national *idiom*” of composition, and the adoption of “national elements” as musical material. The former is a quality seen as characterizing the music overall, whereas the latter is regarded as a more technical approach. This division serves as a useful analytical tool in recognizing both intentional approaches and discourses by and about composers—not least because both involve certain issues.

The discourse of a national idiom is closely related to the idea of “authenticity,” which has been addressed in several studies.⁷⁸ According to Finscher (1984, 55–56), “successful” national composers like Janáček and Bartók were connected by their profound studies of the music cultures they were influenced by, and their strong intention of building a national idiom of composition based on these studies. Similar ideas were also proposed by Riemann. He saw that concrete allusions—such as quoting folk melodies—would result in music that bears significance only within a limited area, and that one should rather apply a more complex synthesis of national qualities and the so-called universal style to construct a truly national idiom (see Foster 1990, 29). These views stress the notion that to construct an “authentic” national idiom, one should be able to integrate “alien” elements to “universal” Western art music. The idea has often been illustrated by a comparison with language, that is, original music having “not only its original vocabulary but original syntax and grammar as well” (see Frolova-Walker 2001, 106).

The same arguments about “authenticity” have been suggested by several composers. For example, Bartók (1976, 343–344) argued that the most profound level of national composition is achieved when a composer writes music completely in the “atmosphere” of the folk songs of a particular culture

⁷⁸ E.g. Abraham (1949, 249); Finkelstein (1960, 251–279); Finscher (1984, 55–56); Bohlman (2004, 17–18).

or region.⁷⁹ Bartók also defined different levels of national-style composition that strongly emphasize the superiority of a “national *idiom*” as compared with the adoption of individual musical elements. While considering the first two levels—quoting a folk song, or slightly modifying a folk melody—superficial, the third and “highest” level in Bartók’s classification is a musical style in which influences from traditional music are expressed in a manner that does not necessarily contain any distinct allusions, but manages to capture the essence of this music so well that it overall characterizes its spirit.

But does, and can, an “authentic” national idiom exist? Who can define it, and on what grounds? Issues related to the ambiguity of this concept ultimately come back to the complexities of defining “nationalities” in general. Finscher (1984, 55–56), for example, echoes Bartók’s views and argues that Bartók synthesized the rural folk songs of Hungary and neighboring countries with Western art music and was thus able to construct a “truly national style.” With closer examination, however, definitions such as these prove problematic in that they typically regard composers ultimately as embodiments of nations. While seemingly recognizing and analyzing national elements as substantial musical material, they still end up implying the existence of the *Volksgeist* in that the most “successful” national idiom is ultimately defined by the question of national identity: it cannot be achieved by representatives of other nationalities. As put by Curtis (2008, 28), the French cannot write truly “Norwegian” music, and vice versa.

Consequently, the reason that composers like Janáček and Bartók are regarded as “successful” in this sense is their connection with their own “nationality.” This is, however, a problematic idea resulting from the difficulty of defining “nations”—not to be confused with nation-states—in general: it does not sufficiently recognize the range of influences that several “national composers” were inspired by. For example, seeing Bartók’s music as “Hungarian” is misleading, resulting from the vast range of the songs of different Eastern European ethnicities he actually adopted characteristics from (e.g. Cooper 2001; Schneider 2006). Similarly, Glinka’s celebrated “Russian idiom” was, in reality, based on a mixture of influences from folk songs of different Russian-speaking peoples rather than any single source representing an exclusively “Russian” nationality (Frolova-Walker 2001, 106). As these examples show, the existence of what have been regarded as “truly” national idioms does not, after all, exist “*in* music but in the *discourse* about music” Curtis (2008, 31). For example, there is ultimately nothing objectively “Finnish” in Sibelius’s work—rather, it was simply his individual style that came to be associated with “Finnishness” because the composer was globally seen as the embodiment of the Finnish nation (Finscher 1984, 50).

By contrast, recognizing the discourse on the claimed existence of “national idioms” is also important in the context of understanding the intentions of composers. Rather than trying to prove the existence of a national idiom—an

⁷⁹ Naturally, this remark applies not only to folk songs but other music traditions as well.

assessment based ultimately on subjective perception and analytically vague definitions—inspecting methods and ideas that composers have adopted in terms of *aiming at* the creation of a national idiom offers an important perspective on their work and compositional philosophy. In this context, the value judgement between “successful” and “superficial” approaches is of secondary importance. For example, composers such as Bartók and Janáček—as well as the Russian national school of the mid-nineteenth century—undoubtedly had the conscious *goal* of creating national idioms (e.g. Ther 2014, 221). In these cases, acknowledging the existence of such a goal and examining the methods applied to reach it link with the aim of this study to understand the different reasons to adopt national elements in music.

In the distinction between “national elements” and a “national idiom of composition,” the former stands for any musical allusions to the culture that they represent—be it a quotation or a more complex element—whereas the latter signifies a compositional style based on the overall aesthetics of the traditional music or some other aspect of the culture or nationality it represents. The difference between the two is best exemplified in Finkelstein’s comparison of Janáček and Stravinsky. While Finkelstein (1960, 269–270) joins many other scholars by praising Janáček’s approach of incorporating speech patterns and intonation of the Czech language into his musical work, he notes that by contrast Stravinsky did not aim at a national idiom but adopted national elements—such as folk song quotations—in a “mechanical” way (*ibid.*, 260–261). Still, judging Stravinsky’s approach as superficial, or stating that it did not communicate any further meaning, would neglect important aspects about the use of the quotations. In many cases, the “mechanical” use of national elements also becomes an expression of identity. That Stravinsky used elements from Russian music and Japanese composers from Japanese music instead of other music cultures is not merely a “mechanical” technique—regardless of its application—but also an expression of their own culture, and thus a way of positioning themselves in a global musical context. This is why the present study focuses on national elements as an intentional compositional tool, but also seeks to reach beyond the mere analysis of method to grasp the further meanings that they imply. To further clarify these viewpoints related particularly to the study of Japanese music, the following sections examine the issues and methods of analysis related specifically to Japanese music.

3.3 Issues of analyzing Japanese elements

White and Murphy (eds. 2001) suggest that the national in each music culture should be approached as an individual case: methods of constructing and conveying it vary from one society, culture, time, and composer to another. Naturally, this also applies to Japan. In the same sense that Dahlhaus (1989, 80) has noted that the concept of “national” in music changes in relation to

historical events, the notion of “Japanese” varies from one time, composer, and work to another. This is why the present study seeks to identify those qualities *thought of as being* Japanese and adopted intentionally by composers. Consequently, it is relevant to acknowledge what kinds of characteristics have been regarded as Japanese, not only in the general discussion, but also by the composers themselves. As put by Jarocinski (1981, 13): “The choice of procedures is not a valid criterion by which to judge or define the style of a work of art unless due account is taken of the artist’s aesthetic aims and of the general situation of music and other branches of culture at any given time in history.”

Japan is a peculiar case in the context of Western art music in that a Japanese quality has typically been expected from Japanese composers with “What is Japanese about your music?” being a question often posed to them in the West (Wade 2005, 157–158). This implies that musical works by Japanese composers are assumed to contain an audibly Japanese quality, signifying that they still represent a perpetual Other for the West.⁸⁰ This has been a trend as long as the Japanese have composed Western-style music. For example, Yamada was primarily regarded as a “Japanese composer”—rather than as a composer of Western-style music—during his first visit to the United States in 1918–1919 (see Pacun 2006).

For Japanese composers, however, the question of identifying a Japanese quality does not seem to be that self-evident. For example, when Yamada was asked by a Swiss composer why he did not compose Japanese-style music, he responded by asking why the Swiss did not write Swiss-style music (Yamada 2001, 755). Even so, there was a shift toward a more Japanese-like idiom in Yamada’s work after his visit to the United States (Galliano 2002, 36). This has been a typical change with Japanese composers, many of whom have begun to reflect their cultural background musically only after encountering a questioning of their work’s Japanese quality in the West (see Wade 2005, 158). Many composers in the 1930s, as well, began to use Japanese elements after noticing that it was mostly these kinds of works that received awards in international competitions. The almost standardized assumption of a Japanese quality in music by Japanese composers in the West has, paradoxically, often eventually resulted in the utilization of concrete musical characteristics to associate the music with Japan.

Viewing a Japanese work of music solely in a “Japanese” context, however, easily results in misinterpretations of an unconscious Japanese nature or national style. This “primordial” (Smith 1998) approach implies the existence of Herder’s *Volksgeist*—or musical elements resulting inevitably from the composer’s nationality or cultural background. It ends up neglecting other

⁸⁰ This also implies that music by Japanese composers is considered successful only if it carries a “Japanese” flavor. For example, virtually all works that won awards in music competitions with a Western jury in the 1930s contained an explicit Japanese element (Hanaoka 2007, 15). Pacun (2012) in particular has criticized this tendency of regarding only “Japanese-style” music as interesting or valuable in the West.

elements of music, and simplifies the question of Japanese qualities from the perspective of those who have intentionally adopted them as a compositional method to convey particular ideas.

The notion that primordial thought compels the inevitability of national qualities is a significant issue in studies on Japanese culture, not only because of Western expectations, but also resulting from the vast literary output on the topic of “Japaneseness,” or the *nihonjinron* discourse in the postwar period.⁸¹ *Nihonjinron* argues the idea of Japanese culture being altogether unique because of a “Japanese spirit” present in everything Japanese. The assertion of uniqueness is based on a stereotypical dichotomy of East and West, while neglecting comparison with other cultures (Mouer and Sugimoto 1986, 44). As a discourse, *nihonjinron* uses the concepts of nationality, ethnicity, and culture interchangeably, and thereby suggests that all Japanese share the same “Japaneseness” and thus represent a single organism (e.g. Sugimoto 1999, 82). While the idea of “Japaneseness” typically remains undefined, it is based on theories in traditional culture that are applied, for instance, to cultural phenomena of today, often having only a shallow connection with the original concept (e.g. Mouer and Sugimoto 1986). In this context, “Japaneseness” is regarded as an unchanging cultural category unaffected by the events of history or changes in the Japanese society.⁸²

It is difficult to say when exactly the *nihonjinron* discourse emerged. Some very early examples of views similar to *nihonjinron* include the Edo-period writings by Motoori Norinaga (本居宣長, 1730–1801), but more discussion on the uniqueness of Japanese culture began to appear during the 1930s with the rise of nationalism (see examples in Mouer and Sugimoto 1986, 39–44). It was, however, during the postwar years that *nihonjinron* began to bloom, mostly due to the output being published from the 1960s to 1980s (Befu 2001, 14). While the views represented in the discourse are largely—albeit still not entirely—questioned in academic studies today,⁸³ it is important to recognize this discourse and its assertions, as *nihonjinron* has been an extensively applied discourse and comprises writings on various disciplines during the past decades. Music is no exception. For example, several studies during the past decades have argued that “Japaneseness” is a quality uniquely characterizing all Japanese music. In this context, it is important to recognize that the discussion on an eternal Japanese nature materializing in music, as argued by Kikkawa (1980) and Kojima (1981) among others, has emerged only in the postwar period with the tide of this kind of literature in general, and contains viewpoints not encountered, for example, in writings before the war.

⁸¹ *Nihonjinron* literally means “theories about the Japanese,” but “theories of Japaneseness” is perhaps a more apt translation. It is also called *Nihon bunkaron* (theories of Japanese culture), *Nihon shakairon* (theories of Japanese society), or *Nihonron* (theories of Japan) (Befu 1993, 107).

⁸² Mouer and Sugimoto (1986); Befu (ed. 1993; 2001); Sugimoto (1999).

⁸³ For example, Kelly (1996, 193) argued already in the 1990s that the discourse has been so extensively attacked against that it is difficult to see any true need for new academic criticism of it.

In this sense, rather than representing an objective and analytical category of “Japaneseness,” these discussions mirror, above all, the thinking of their time.⁸⁴ Consequently, the very rise of *nihonjinron* during the postwar decades ironically demonstrates how time-bound the conceptions of “Japaneseness” actually are.

Not surprisingly, the essentialistic idea of an unchanging Japanese culture has been questioned after the heyday of *nihonjinron*. Fujitani (1993), for example, notes that many Japanese customs perceived as “age-old traditions” have been invented only after the Meiji restoration of 1868. The paradigm shift of “nationality” first in the Meiji period and then during postwar years has been regarded by Oguma (1995; 2002) as the result of the dispersion of the multicultural Japanese empire after the war. With the fall of the empire, which was comprised of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds, Oguma suggests that Japan required a uniform conception of culture in the postwar period, which resulted in the construction of a new, homogenous national identity. This resembles the rise of nationalism as an ideology in the West, as well. As put by Gellner (1964, 169): “Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist.”

In the context of music analysis, these observations emphasize the importance of recognizing the versatility—instead of the homogeneity typically claimed in the postwar period—of the different concepts and aspects that are associable with Japan. For example, descriptions of all genres of traditional music with concepts met in traditional art forms of Japan is problematic, in that many of these concepts are applicable only to certain genres (Tokita and Hughes 2008, 26–27). As it is impossible to trace a single, consistent “Japanese quality” even in traditional Japanese music, it can hardly be expected that it could be identified in works by later Japanese composers. The same applies to many of those aesthetic and other intangible qualities claimed to be uniquely Japanese. Many of them appear to have been invented only in the postwar period as a method of strengthening national homogeneity (Befu 1993). Following this train of thought, the time-bound notions of a uniform nation are inclined to surface in music and discourse on music, as well. In the context of this study, understanding these paradigm shifts is important for recognizing what was regarded as “Japanese” in the 1930s, and pointing out that the possibly better recognized discourses of the postwar period do not necessarily apply to Japan before the war—or even to Japan of today.

While the essentialistic idea of a *Volksgeist* in everything Japanese is questionable, distinctive Japanese cultural characteristics do exist. For example, several musical genres have originated in Japan and served a unique function in the Japanese society. These genres are, indeed, entirely “Japanese”

⁸⁴ Naturally, the ideas are also important from this aspect—as expressions of postwar Japanese thought on nationality and nationalism. Nishikawa (1995) has even regarded it as a method of “decoratively” veiling nationalist ideologies. For more on *nihonjinron* and the issues it represents, see Mouer and Sugimoto (1986), Befu (ed. 1993; 2001), and Sugimoto (1999).

both in musical terms and in that they have managed to establish a social position. This also applies to those forms of Japanese culture originally derived from foreign countries. Court music *gagaku*, for example, was introduced from Korea and China, but has since the Nara period (710–794) been considered a genre of Japanese music and gone through musical changes peculiar to Japan. As Fukushima (1988, 130) notes, the originally foreign *gagaku* has managed to maintain its role in Japanese society and establish new meanings and musical characteristics during different times, which is why it should be considered Japanese music. In relation to cultural phenomena such as *gagaku*, it is of secondary importance that they are of foreign origin; they have undergone an indigenization process and become Japanese culture.

The importance of contextualizing musical and cultural phenomena as representations of their time is further emphasized by the fact that even composers musically or ideologically close to each other present different views. This is exemplified also in Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei. Whereas Kiyose Yasuji (1936a, 13) regarded *gagaku* only as Chinese music adopted to Japan, Mitsukuri Shūkichi based the fundamentals of his theory of a Japanese harmony on the harmonic concepts of *gagaku* (see Chapter 4.1). Matsudaira Yoritsune (1954a, 10), on the other hand, used *gagaku* melodies as aesthetic inspiration without any ideological implications. As the views of even close composers are this contradictory to each other, purported Japanese elements and their meanings in music should ultimately be analyzed separately for each historical context and each composer—each work, even. This is why it is important to examine the composers' views as well.

Music is, in a sense, a database of information about a culture or society as perceived by a group of individuals during a certain period of time. Western art music in Japan of the 1930s, as well, can serve as a key to understanding how Japanese culture was perceived and expressed in that time, and how music relates to these views. This, finally, comes back to the approach of not claiming to examine that which *is*, but that which has been *thought of as being* Japanese during different times.

3.4 Approaches to the analysis of Japanese elements in music

An all-encompassing methodology for analyzing which musical elements can be regarded as Japanese does not exist. Rather, the topic has been a subject to discussions and debates for over a century among Japanese composers as well; what was noted above about the concepts of “Japaneseness” as discourses altering with time also applies to the use of musical elements. While an attempt to construct a definite methodology to encompass music of all time periods would thus prove futile, it is, however, possible to classify approaches to Japanese-style composition under general categories that serve as a starting point for more contextualized analysis. Traditional Japanese culture obviously

represents the most original Japanese quality, and consequently, Japanese elements typically involve allusions to music and other forms of traditional Japanese culture—although other approaches exist as well.⁸⁵

While the concrete methods and motivations for using these elements vary from one composer to another, this study uses the following list of six traits as a tool for identifying these influences (which I have previously introduced briefly in Lehtonen 2010b and 2015a).⁸⁶ Items on the list have been influenced significantly by several previous analyses of Japanese qualities in musical works,⁸⁷ and ideas presented by numerous Japanese composers. None of them, however, present their approach as a consistent methodology; this chapter is an attempt at proposing one.

- 1) Quoting traditional music.
- 2) Adoption of the scales or harmony of Japanese traditional music, possibly also resulting in a similar timbre.
- 3) Use of Japanese instruments, or imitation of their playing techniques or timbres with Western ones, or imitation of vocal techniques.
- 4) Allusions to traditional Japanese arts, festivals, or religious rituals by adopting a structure or another element associated with them.
- 5) Adoption of Japanese aesthetical or philosophical concepts, such as temporal aspects of traditional music. Analysis of these kinds of elements, in particular, requires careful examination of the views of the composers.
- 6) Other references to Japan. In individual works of music, there are numerous possible allusions to Japanese culture that have not been adopted widely enough to include as their own categories. To give one example, Hashimoto Kunihiko uses a musical cryptogram symbolizing Japan in his Symphony No. 1 (Lehtonen 2015a, 73).

It should be emphasized that while traditional Japanese music is discussed here as a historical entity, a consistent *musical* entity such as “traditional Japanese music” does not exist. Music culture in Japan before the Meiji

⁸⁵ This has begun to change during recent years, as Japan has become associated with its popular culture. As a result, some young composers have expressed a “Japanese quality” by allusions to anime and fashion (Yokoyama 2016). This is, however, still a minor trend compared to the use of traditional culture as a Japanese element, and does not concern prewar composers at all.

⁸⁶ The list previously also included a category of a compositional context related to a Japanese theme, such as the festivities of 1940. As this represents more of a hint of possible influences rather than an actual compositional method, however, I decided to omit it here.

⁸⁷ These include: Takase (1974), Akiyama (1979 and 2003), Galliano (2002), Herd (1987 and 2004), and Katayama (2007), but also many other studies.

restoration comprised numerous genres with theories and practices different from each other. Each genre was typically associated with a certain social class. Therefore, when analyzing Japanese elements in music, it is crucial to recognize the type of music that the allusion has been made to. For instance, there is a considerable difference between alluding to the high-class court music *gagaku* or to the popular *haute* songs, considered “impure” by Isawa Shūji (see Eppstein 1994, 73). This also emphasizes that recognizing an item on the list merely serves as the first step to discussing what the adoption of that musical quality fundamentally conveys and means.

Arguably, items 1 to 3 are the easiest to recognize as material derived directly from traditional music, whereas item 5 is much more ambiguous and requires at least some examination of the composer’s views to confirm whether they had any intention of expressing a Japanese quality in the first place. However, traits 1 to 3 can also convey specific meanings exceeding those of merely “audibly Japanese” elements. To further clarify the adoption of these six items, the following section examines each trait in more detail. Most examples of works and approaches below are taken from the 1930s, to provide a background for the analysis of musical works in Chapter 5. I have compiled the list of traits itself, however, so that it can be applied to the analysis of music from any time period. The discussion on item 6, in particular, involves mainly postwar composers.⁸⁸

1) Quoting traditional music

Of all possible ways to associate musical works with traditional music, the first one is the most obvious. In some cases, the quotation of a piece of traditional music is identified easily, particularly when indicated in the title. Konoe Hidemaro’s *Etenraku* for orchestra (1931) is a fitting example: not only is *Etenraku* (越天楽) the most frequently performed piece in the *gagaku* repertoire (Kumazawa 2012), Konoe’s version—although presented as an original work of music—is simply a transcription of it. Taking a step forward from transcriptions, other easily identified cases are works that indicate the original melody in their titles. Matsudaira Yoritsune’s vocal works with piano accompaniment based on Japanese folk songs—particularly *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1* (*Nanbu min’yōshū 1*, discussed in Chapter 5.4), belong to this category.

In many cases, however, the melody has not been indicated or hinted at in the title of the work in any way. These works require studying the music culture of the time of composition. For example, Hashimoto Kunihiko quotes the *Kigensetsu* (紀元節) song as the theme of the third movement of his Symphony No. 1 (1940; see Chapter 5.3.2). The song was well-known during the time of composition (Akiyama 1976, 10), but is more obscure today. Another similar

⁸⁸ Overall, the use of Japanese elements in music changed radically after the war. See Narazaki (2007) for more on the search for new Japanese compositional idioms in the postwar period.

example is Kishi Kōichi's (貴志康一, 1909–1937) orchestral work *Japanese Sketches* (*Nihon sukecchi*, 1934). The second movement *Serenade* (*Yakyoku*) implies a quotation of traditional music with the additional German title *Melodien einer Nacht—mit Benutzung eines japanischen Volksliedes* (Melody of a Night—With Utilization of a Japanese Folk Song). The melody quoted in the second movement is not a traditional folk song, however, but the popular song “Longing for You” (“Kimi koishi,” 1928). It was a sales hit and regarded as the “first Japanese jazz song” (e.g. Kikuchi 2008, 26).

As noted, direct quotations are a sign of a conscious act—an attribute shared by all the traits but particularly apparent in this case. Aside from item 1, all the other traits on the list can be regarded as *musical metaphors* (Spitzer 2004)—or musical elements suggesting characteristics of Japanese music and culture.

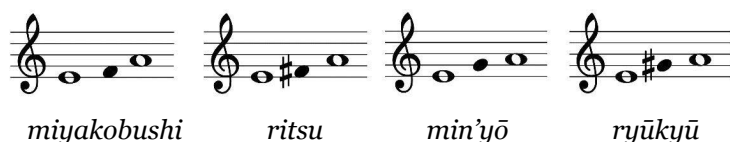
2) Adoption of scales or harmony from traditional music

The adoption of scales from traditional music was typical already before the 1930s in Japanese songs (Kojima 1962a). Possibly resulting from works combining scales of traditional music with Western harmony, music of the prewar period has sometimes been criticized for not tackling fundamental differences between Western and Japanese music.⁸⁹ It should be emphasized, however, that scales contain specific meanings exceeding those of merely “audibly Japanese” elements. For example, many are linked to specific genres of traditional music, making the adoption of a certain scale possibly an allusion to that genre of music and its other connotations at the same time.

The term “scale” is actually a somewhat narrow one for describing pitch organization in traditional music. As defined by Koizumi Fumio (1958, 187)—whose theory is widely accepted among scholars today—melodies in traditional Japanese music do not follow fixed scales, but units that Koizumi calls *tetrachords*.⁹⁰ In Koizumi's theory, they consist of two nuclear tones a fourth apart that provide the frame, while the intermediate tone defines the type of the tetrachord (ex. 3.1). The tetrachords are named after the musical traditions that they most often occur in. For example, the *min'yō* (folk song) tetrachord is encountered in folk songs of Japan, whereas the *ryūkyū* (historical name for Okinawa, located south from the Japanese mainland) tetrachord is used in Okinawan music. In example 3.1, the tetrachords begin from E, but they are not tied to any certain pitch. Nuclear tones are marked with whole notes, whereas intermediate tones are given in black.

⁸⁹ For example, Heifetz (1984, 445), Nordgren (1989, 50), and Burt (2001, 15–17); also Moroi (1937).

⁹⁰ While there are various meanings of the term “tetrachord,” in this study, it refers to the meaning given by Koizumi.



Example 3.1 Tetrachords of traditional Japanese music as defined by Koizumi (1958, 187).

Scales are formed by combining tetrachords in either a conjunctive or disjunctive manner; that is, beginning the upper tetrachord from either the same pitch as the first one ends, or above it. For example, the *miyakobushi* scale consists of two *miyakobushi* tetrachords combined disjunctively by adding the second tetrachord above the first (ex. 3.2) (Koizumi 1958, 187). Melodies in traditional music begin and end on one of the nuclear tones. In scales, however, the placement of the nuclear tones varies. For example, the upper nuclear tone of the lower tetrachord in the *miyakobushi* scale does not become a nuclear tone in melodies (ibid.; ex. 3.2)



Example 3.2 *Miyakobushi* scale (disjunctive combination of two *miyakobushi* tetrachords).

Melodic movements are also what fundamentally differentiates the use of the tetrachords from the pentatonic *yonanuki* scale. As discussed in chapter 2.1, adopting *yonanuki*—fundamentally a Western diatonic scale with the fourth and seventh degrees omitted—was a typical way of composing melodies in the prewar period. The pitches in major *yonanuki* (e.g. C-D-E-G-A-C) are the equivalent of combining two *ritsu* tetrachords disjunctively (G-A-C and D-E-G), and the minor *yonanuki* (e.g. A-B-C-E-F-A) equivalent of a disjunctive combination of *miyakobushi* tetrachords (E-F-A and B-C-E). What distinguishes these scales is, however, the way that they are handled. Works adopting *yonanuki* are in either major or minor key of Western tonality, and thus also contain a tonic and a dominant. Whereas the tonic in A minor *yonanuki* is A, the “first degree” in the equivalent *miyakobushi* scale is E; furthermore, A is not a nuclear tone (ex. 3.2). The fundamental difference between adopting the *yonanuki* scale and the tetrachords is thus that *yonanuki* pays attention solely to the adoption of certain pitches but presents melodic movements according to Western practice, whereas melodies adopting the tetrachords occur in the frame of the fourths (Kojima 1962a).

Koizumi’s theory revolutionized discussion on traditional Japanese music and is accepted by most scholars, with some additions and modifications (Tokita 1996, 1; Kojima 2008, 52). If a musical work dating from the 1930s—

before Koizumi's time—indicates an understanding of the tetrachords, it suggests that the composer was familiar with traditional music.⁹¹ In the 1930s, Uehara Rokushirō's (1895) theory of *in* and *yō* scales (ex. 3.3) was still generally accepted as the foundation of Japanese scales.⁹² For example, the composers Hashimoto and Shimofusa (2000, 80–81) refer to this theory in their handbook on music written in 1949.



Example 3.3 *Yō* (above) and *in* (below) scales defined by Uehara.

Sometimes it can be, however, difficult to make a distinction between scales. While the melody in Yamada's song *Fisherman* (六騎; *Rokkyū*, 1922)⁹³ is handled mostly in the frame of the tetrachords, it always ends on the tonic or dominant, thus suggesting the *yonanuki* scale (Kojima 1962a, 45). The use of *yonanuki* might signal a composer's aim to write audibly Japanese music, but also hints that they are possibly not familiar with traditional music. Many composers, including Fujii Kiyomi (藤井清水, 1889–1944) and Nakayama Shinpei, who studied folk songs on their own, demonstrate an understanding of scales in traditional music even though a consistent theory did not exist in their time (*ibid.*, 39–40).

Furthermore, different scales in traditional music also connect with specific instruments and musical genres. For example, court music *gagaku* has a scalar system different from popular genres. In many cases, the adoption of a certain scale can thus also signify an allusion to a certain genre. For example, the zither-like *koto* and its tunings *hirajōshi* and *kumojōshi* created by Yatsuhashi Kengyō (八橋検校, 1614–1685) in the seventeenth century, are the equivalent of the *miyakobushi* scale. However, there are also several modified tunings for the *koto* (Wade 1976). When combined with music that has attributes similar to the performing techniques of the *koto*, an adoption of the *miyakobushi* scale—or more specifically an adoption of *koto* tunings—also becomes an allusion to *koto* music.

Whereas Japanese scales are based directly on traditional music, harmony is a different case: the only genre with a harmony system is *gagaku*, which originated in China. Therefore, Japanese harmony in musical works is

⁹¹ Kojima (1962a, 38) presents several examples of this.

⁹² Uehara originally introduced his theory in the book *Zokugaku senritsukō* (*On Melodies of Vulgar Music*, 1895). *In'yō* (陰陽) refers to the East Asian concept of shadow and light, better known to the Western world as *yin* and *yang*.

⁹³ The unusual reading and meaning of the title are related to dialect in the Yanagawa region. Some sources give the reading as “*Rikkyū*.”

typically a theoretical approach created by composers, rather than a system adopted from traditional music as such. While methods of constructing Japanese harmony vary, it is typically derived from melodic material of traditional music. The first approach to creating a theory of Japanese harmony was made in 1917 by the composer group Sakkyoku kenkyūkai (Society for the Study of Composition) (Kojima 1962b, 35),⁹⁴ and other approaches were later proposed by the Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei founder Mitsukuri Shūkichi (see Chapters 4.1 and 5.1) and the musicologist and engineer Tanaka Shōhei (田中正平, 1862–1945) in his work *Nippon wasei no kiso* (*Foundation of a Japanese Harmony*, 1940) (see more in Matsudaira 1969b, 75–80).

3) Use of Japanese instruments, or imitating them with Western ones

When adopting scales or harmony as allusions to a specific genre of music, it is typical that the music also adopts other characteristics of that genre. This is closely linked with trait number 3 and the imitation of Japanese instruments with Western ones. An example of one frequently adopted technique, which can also result in a Japanese harmony, is the imitation of the *shō* (sometimes translated as “mouth organ”), a wind instrument in *gagaku*. The typical harmonies played by the instrument consist of eleven chords based on the intervals of the second, fourth, and fifth, called *aitake* (e.g. Garfias 1975, 48; ex. 3.4).



Example 3.4 *Aitake* chords in *gagaku*.

Imitating the *shō* is an allusion very commonly encountered in works of Japanese music. Some works with explicit allusions to the *aitake* include Yamada’s symphony *Inno Meiji* (1921) and Matsudaira’s *Theme and Variations for Piano and Orchestra* (1951). Some works, however, imitate the *shō* without quoting the *aitake* as such. Yuasa Jōji’s (湯浅譲二, b. 1929) orchestral composition *Scenes from Bashō* (*Bashō no jōkei*, 1980), for example, imitates the timbre of *gagaku* in a rather peculiar way.⁹⁵ The work is atonal, and the chord clusters played by the strings are not based on the *aitake* chords in terms of interval structures. However, as the percussions play rhythms reminiscent of the ones in *gagaku*, it seems likely that also the atonal clusters seek to evoke the timbre of the *shō*. With this approach, the work is an example of music presenting influences from *gagaku* in an “abstract” way.

⁹⁴ The society was founded by Komatsu Kōsuke, Yanada Tadashi (梁田貞, 1885–1959), Hirota Ryūtarō (弘田龍太郎, 1892–1952), and Kondō Yoshiji (近藤義次), all known for their vocal works.

⁹⁵ See discussion on this work in Wade (2005, 162–163).

To give another typical example of imitation of traditional instruments, many Japanese piano works imitate the *koto*. In Mitsukuri Shūkichi's solo piano piece *Night Rhapsody* (*Yoru no kyōsōkyoku*, 1935), arpeggios and tremolo-like playing resemble playing techniques typical of the *koto* (Chapter 5.1.5). Another similar example is Hashimoto's song composition *Dance* (*Mai*, 1929), in which the piano part resembles the playing techniques of *koto* music (Lehtonen 2015a, 64). Of course, imitation of the *koto* is not the sole domain of the piano. Works like Mayuzumi Toshirō's (黛敏郎, 1929–1997) *Rokudan* (六段, 1989)—the title refers to a *koto* piece composed by Yatsushashi Kengyō and quotes it in the beginning—imitates the *koto* with the harp. These approaches are characterized by distinctive allusions to typical playing techniques and evoking the timbre of the instruments—even in cases when the music itself is atonal and the allusion does not involve the adoption of scales or modes typical of the traditional music for the instrument.

Using Japanese instruments in works of Western-style composition has been common in the postwar period—even to the degree that there was a boom of traditional instruments in the 1960s (Ishida 2007, 493–505). In the prewar period, however, this was much less typical. This was most likely due to the fact that Japanese and Western music were considered two entirely different fields (Katayama 2007, 113). The few works combining Japanese and Western instruments were composed mostly in the Shin Nihon Ongaku school (see Chapter 2.2). Sugawara Meirō, for example, co-composed a concerto for the *koto*, *shakuhachi*, and Western orchestra with Hisamoto Genchi (久本玄智, 1903–1976) in 1933. Yamada's symphony *Inno Meiji* (1921), which incorporates use of the *gagaku* instrument *hichiriki*, is an early exception, as are Yamada's three *nagauta* symphonies combining the ensemble of the *kabuki* theater with Western orchestra. Aside from these examples, however, it was extremely uncommon to combine Western and Japanese instruments in Western-style composition before the war.

Considering the motivations for using Japanese instruments in musical works as a means to bring a Japanese quality to the work, an interesting viewpoint is offered by Takemitsu. He criticized Japanese composers for the approach of combining Japanese instruments with Western ones without taking into account the fundamental differences between these instruments and two musical traditions. According to Takemitsu (Toru 1995, 55), composers should, above all, pay attention to timbre instead of using instruments merely as a “Japanese” element. For Takemitsu (*ibid.*, 53), paying attention to timbre was an indication of a Japanese quality; Burt (2001, 15) has highlighted this aspect of Takemitsu's work as well. There are, however, also different views on Japanese qualities in this aspect. For example, Moroi (1937, 10) criticized composers of the national school for their obsession with timbre, and considered it as a superficial element—making his view the opposite of Takemitsu's. This contradiction is also met in Mamiya Michio's (間宮芳生, b. 1929) works for Japanese instruments. According to Galliano (2002, 199–200), Mamiya's works of 1957 for the *koto* pay close attention to

timbre, while not considering the tradition of the instrument in terms of playing techniques or other aspects of expression. *Quartet* (1962) for the *shakuhachi*, *shamisen*, and two *kotos*, on the other hand, contains elements recognizable as allusions to traditional music (ibid.). However, “Takemitsian” thought would typically regard the solo works for the *koto* as “Japanese” in style. This further underlines how the conceptions of Japanese qualities vary among composers.

4) Allusions to traditional Japanese arts, festivals, or rituals

A characteristic that remarkably eases the task of recognizing allusions to festivals or rituals is that they often involve a musical context. Therefore, a mood reminiscent of them may be evoked through the imitation of their soundscape. An example is Kiyose Yasuji’s piano piece *Bon Dance* (*Bon odorī*) from the collection *Dances of Home District* (*Kyōdo buyō*, 1933), which refers to the *Bon* festival dance in summer. Mamiya Michio, on the other hand, has imitated the soundscape of summer festivals in his work *Composition for Chorus 5* (1966). Music is also an integral element in genres of traditional Japanese theatre, such as *nō*, *kabuki*, and *bunraku* (or *ningyō jōruri*), and allusions to them are likely to take place also through traits 2 and 3. In many cases, the title of the work hints at the influence.

In contrast, allusions to Japanese art forms with no direct link to music—such as poetry or visual arts—are more complex. This issue is exemplified in the case of Ikenouchi Tomojirō, whose French Impressionist-style works of the 1930s were often seen as carrying a spirit similar to *haiku* poetry⁹⁶ due to their reduced expression (see Akiyama 1979, 33). What affected this interpretation was the fact that Ikenouchi was the son of the *haiku* poet Takahama Kyoshi (高浜虚子, 1874–1959), and also wrote *haiku* himself (ibid., 31). However, as Akiyama (ibid.) has noted, reduced expression is not the sole domain of *haiku* poetry, and is more likely linked with French Impressionist aesthetics rather than Japanese tradition in Ikenouchi’s case. If a work of instrumental music were based on *haiku* poetry, it would most likely incorporate other elements, such as the poetic meter as its structure, as well.

To give another example, Katayama (2003, 4) suggests similarity between the first movement of Hashimoto’s Symphony No. 1 (1940) and *emakimono* scroll paintings. *Emakimono* tend to begin and end with a gradation effect as if veiled in mist, as does the first movement of Hashimoto’s work. Galliano (2002, 81) notes the same quality in Hayasaka Fumio’s work, but rather than associating it with *emakimono*, Galliano suggests that it is founded on the traditional Japanese concept of music as “not separated from the eternal, endless flow of natural time.” However, music by Western and Japanese composers include numerous examples of works beginning and ending as if veiled in mist, without no connection to *emakimono* or Japanese philosophical

⁹⁶ *Haiku* is traditional Japanese poetry consisting of three verses with syllabic structure 5-7-5.

concepts. As the very same characteristic can be interpreted in different ways even when related to Japanese culture, locating connections to traditional arts in music requires an examination of the views of the composers and the background of the work to discover what could have influenced the composer. Takemitsu is a fitting example of this, as he has presented explanations of how he sought to express the structure and elements of Japanese gardens in a lot of his work (e.g. Takemitsu Toru 1995, 120). Without the composer's own account of this matter, the representations of Japanese gardens in his work would most likely not have been discussed to the extent that they have been (for example in Burt 2001).

5) Adoption of Japanese aesthetic or philosophical concepts

The adoption of aesthetic concepts in music can mean, for example, influences from the relative conception of time in traditional music. For example, measuring time in music for the *shakuhachi* bamboo flute is not based on a regular pulse but on breathing (e.g. Tsukitani 2000). In the case of music performed by multiple instruments—such as the *sankyoku* ensemble consisting of the *koto*, *shamisen* and *shakuhachi* or the string instrument *kokyū*—all the instruments typically perform the same melody but in non-synchronous rhythm. This effect is also encountered in other genres. Yuasa Jōji, for example, expresses this type of temporal relativity as encountered in the *nō* theatre in his work *Interpenetration for Two Flutes I* (1963) (Yuasa 1989, 178), which does not, however, contain any other audible elements from *nō*.

One of the challenges concerning the analysis of aesthetic influences is that it bears the highest risk of falling into misconceptions of “Japaneseness” as an essentialistic view. Two concepts in traditional Japanese arts are particularly representative of this issue. One of them is the accelerating rhythmic development *jo-ha-kyū* and the other one is *ma*, or the concept of time and space belonging to the same continuum—very typically emerging as the of empty space as substantial material in a work. *Jo-ha-kyū* is a form dividing music or theatre performances into three temporal sections, the first one being slow, the second one accelerating and the conclusion ending swiftly with return to the original tempo at the end. The concept was originally introduced to Japan in *gagaku*, and is also the foundation of the *nō* theatre. *Ma*, on the other hand, is possibly the most well-known Japanese aesthetic concept in music. *Ma* essentially means that time and space belong to the same continuum rather than being different elements. While approaches to applying the concept in modern music differ from each other (Yoshioka 2008, 181), many composers have adopted it by using silence as musical material. In this case, the silent moments serve an important function as a part of the music, instead of being mere “pauses between notes.”⁹⁷

⁹⁷ The concept is evident also in other Japanese arts. In visual arts, for example, it is present in “empty spaces.”

It should be noted, however, that concepts like this also bear certain analytical issues. In general, when discussing *jo-ha-kyū* or *ma* in Japanese music, a common issue is that many interpretations are based solely on the fact that the work is by a Japanese composer, and even vague hints at these concepts are seen as indications of “Japaneseness.” This is also an issue in the case of traditional music, particularly in writings published during the heyday of *nihonjinron*.⁹⁸ While both *jo-ha-kyū* and *ma* are indeed present in several genres of traditional Japanese music, they could also occur in a “universal” compositional style without the composer necessarily aiming at Japanese-style expression. For example, while undeniably a significant concept in the traditional arts, *ma* often results in interpretations of every silent moment in a work by a Japanese composer as “*ma*,” and thus making the work “Japanese” in style. This is one possible use for silence, but the interpretation remains a mere essentialistic presumption if not examined against, for example, the composer’s views.

The importance of these concepts for Japanese composers themselves should not, nevertheless, be neglected. Numerous composers⁹⁹ have discussed using silence in their work as a Japanese element. Hosokawa Toshio (細川俊夫, b. 1955) has even composed a work entitled *Jo-ha-kyū* (1980), thus strongly suggesting the adoption of the structure. The importance of these concepts for Japanese composers is exemplified in Matsudaira’s and Yuasa’s discussion in 1969. According to them, handling materials from traditional Japanese music with Western musical language and techniques does not suffice as “Japanese-style expression;” rather, according to them, Japanese composers should search for this kind of expression by applying aesthetic concepts (Matsudaira 1969a, 32). These examples demonstrate how locating abstract elements, in particular, requires careful examination of the views of the composers themselves—especially if the link with the aesthetic concept is not explicit in the work.

The discussion on concepts such as *ma* or *jo-ha-kyū* is not, however, that relevant in Japanese music of the 1930s. For the most part, the debates on Japanese qualities in the music of the prewar period did not involve discussion of aesthetic concepts. Of the prewar scholars of Japanese music, Sunaga (1934, 115), for example, did stress the fact that a certain “plainness” is typical of traditional music, but he does not mention the use of silence as a musically reduced element, or use the word *ma*. Tanabe (1919, 580), on the other hand, did not discuss *jo-ha-kyū* in *gagaku* as a Japanese element, but associated it with three-movement forms of Western music. This offers a revealing viewpoint to changes in the discourse about “Japanese” characteristics: whereas Tanabe’s discussion during the enthusiastic years of Westernization

⁹⁸ See also Tokita and Hughes (2008, 26–27), for critical comments on other common but misleading views on the uniqueness of Japanese music.

⁹⁹ For example, Fukushima (1960, 28–29); Dan (1961, 214); Matsudaira (1969a, 32); Mamiya (1987, 48); Yuasa (1989, 183); and Takemitsu (Toru 1995, 51).

associates *jo-ha-kyū* with European forms, postwar views typically see it from the opposite perspective, and regard it as uniquely Japanese.

Even if concepts such as *ma* and *jo-ha-kyū* do not appear in prewar writings on music as particularly Japanese elements, however, other aesthetic qualities were discussed as being particularly Japanese—even if not conceptualized to the same extent. Kiyose, for example, saw a “simple” or “monotonic” composition style as particularly Japanese, and felt that a certain plainness was an aesthetic quality shared by Japanese and French Impressionist music rather than German (see Chapter 4.2). Moroi Saburō, on the other hand, argued that the fundamental difference between Japanese and Western music was that Japanese music was “narrating,” whereas European music was “singing” by nature.¹⁰⁰ He asserted that his aim was to compose “narrating” music. Later on, he went so far as to state that Japanese composers paid attention to the “core” of the music to larger extent than their Western counterparts (see Akiyama 1979, 36–37).¹⁰¹ This is an interesting point in that Moroi’s contemporaries, such as Sunaga (1934, 112) and Sonobe (see Akiyama 2003, 526), also stressed that Japan did not have a tradition of instrumental absolute music, but that most traditional music was texted. It seems that Moroi took notice of the same quality and saw it as a fundamental difference between European and Japanese traditions. Consequently, if Moroi followed his own compositional ideals, his works of seemingly absolute music are not as absolute as they appear.¹⁰²

Both Kiyose’s and Moroi’s views were based on aesthetic qualities, but regarded fundamentally different aspects as “Japanese.” Like Kiyose (see Chapter 4.2), Moroi (1942, 22–23) also emphasized the importance of a “Japanese spirit” in music. However, whereas Kiyose saw similarity between French Impressionism and Japanese music, Moroi was an advocator of the German tradition (Akiyama 1979, 12), which is, in its fundamental aesthetics, arguably more “narrative” by nature than French Impressionism. Aside from Kiyose, several other composers of the national school also saw that French Impressionism and traditional Japanese music shared similar attributes (e.g. Mitsukuri 1948, 80–85). This was not related only to concrete similarities such as the use of pentatonic scales, but also to the overall aesthetics, such as the

¹⁰⁰ In Japanese, Moroi used the terms *utai* (歌い) for singing and *katari* (語り) for narrating. Galliano (2002, 99) has observed that Moroi saw European music representing lyrical charm, and the essence of Japanese music being in “ideas behind the music.”

¹⁰¹ As Galliano (2002, 99) has also noted, this idea is debatable but provides insight to Japanese thought of the time. Even in the postwar period, Moroi’s pupil Irino Yoshirō (入野義朗, 1921–1980) wrote an account echoing the same view, discussing *expression* and *ideas behind expression* as two separate factors in artistic work (Irino 1955, 45).

¹⁰² The term “absolute music” is not used to imply that music could exist autonomously without a connection to surrounding society; it simply refers to music without an indicated extra-musical program or theme, meaning works such as concertos, sonatas, and symphonies. Moroi himself revealed that he sought to portray the instability of the society at war in his atonal works such as Symphony No. 2 (1938) and Piano Sonata No. 2 (1939) (see Akiyama 1979, 37). Apparently, this kind of composition represented “Japanese” expression for Moroi.

emphasis on atmospheres and timbre. In this aspect, traditional Japanese music is, indeed, closer to French Impressionist aesthetics than German-style composition (Motiekaitis 2011).¹⁰³ Yet, it was the latter that Moroi saw as embodying a more “Japanese” quality in its core. That such very different musical languages were both regarded as reflecting aspects of the concept “Japanese” exemplifies the diversity the views—and, once again, emphasizes the importance of examining and contextualizing the thought of the composers.

6) Other references to Japan

Trait 6 is possibly the most ambiguous of all. The five preceding items are more or less concrete examples of techniques by which composers have alluded to traditional culture in numerous works. By contrast, trait 6 includes elements that are encountered only in very few works. Hashimoto’s Symphony No. 1, for example, contains a musical cryptogram signifying Japan (Lehtonen 2015a, 73). This cryptogram is most likely not encountered in other works of Japanese music, and therefore does not fit into the other categories. Uncommon allusions such as this belong to this category.

In general, my list of characteristics to facilitate identifying Japanese elements in music relates mostly to traditional Japanese culture, and takes as its starting point the idea that the characteristics are intentionally used by composers. Recognizing and locating these elements can be interesting as such, but they typically serve a further function. In the next chapters, I will discuss both these musical characteristics and the meanings that they served or conveyed in the 1930s in more detail.

¹⁰³ The significance of timbre stems from several Japanese genres of music that put emphasis on the changes in timbre as an important parameter in the music; the *shakuhachi* and *shamisen* are good examples of this. Many postwar composers, as well, have associated their interest in timbre and the employment of extended playing techniques as a particularly Japanese quality. While this seems plausible, some recent studies have contradicted this idea. For example, Katayama (2007, 76) suggests that the postwar generation’s interest in timbre was a result of their wartime education in recognizing different sounds produced by warfare rather than their cultural background. This would also explain why no similar discussion emerged in the prewar period, and why composers born in the late twentieth century are not as obsessed with this influence as a Japanese element (see Yokoyama 2016).

4 Japanese-style composition in the thought of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei

How did the composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei discuss Japanese-style composition, and what did it represent for them? These are the questions that I seek to answer in this chapter by examining the thoughts of the composers as expressed in their writings and interviews. The discussion focuses on the four composers who produced the most extensive and markedly diverse output on the topic: Mitsukuri Shūkichi, Kiyose Yasuji, Hashimoto Kunihiro, and Matsudaira Yoritsune—discussed in order of birth. Of them, Mitsukuri and Kiyose in particular were active in writing about Japanese-style composition and identified themselves as “national-style composers,” whereas Hashimoto discussed the topic only occasionally, and Matsudaira commented on it more extensively only in the postwar period. Other composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei, such as Sugawara Meirō, indicated interest in Japanese elements through their musical works rather than their writings; they are discussed briefly in Chapter 4.5.

Aside from Matsudaira, the composers introduced here were already discussing Japanese-style music before the wider debates of the latter half of the 1930s, and before foreigners became increasingly involved in Japanese composition with Alexander Tcherepnin’s arrival in 1934. This not only indicates genuine interest in the topic—rather than one encouraged by the discussions of the time or the expectations of foreigners—but also implies that the founders of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei were, as suggested in several previous studies, among the first Japanese-style composers of the time (e.g. Komiya 1976, 96–99; Akiyama 1979, 12). In the following, each composer is discussed from two viewpoints: first, recognizing their ideas about Japanese-style composition as a musical idiom, and second, understanding the reasons for their interest in the topic, ranging, for example, from the artistic to the political. In the analysis and interpretation of these texts, emphasis is placed on recurring themes. From these viewpoints, I aim at sketching an idea about what kinds of meanings Japanese elements had for the composers. The chapter also serves as a tool to examine how they possibly surfaced in the musical works examined in Chapter 5.

The discussion in this chapter has involved the examination of every issue of the music journals that constituted the majority of the discussion on Japanese composition of the time, and which were known to have served as the most important arenas for discussion by the composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei. These journals are: *Firuhaamonii* (Philharmonie), *Gekkan gakufu* (Monthly Musical Score), *Ongaku hyōron* (Music Critique), *Ongaku kurabu* (Music Club), *Ongaku no tomo* (Friend of Music), *Ongaku kenkyū* (Music Research), *Ongaku sekai* (Music World), and *Ongaku shinchō* (New Wave Music); as well as *Ongaku geijutsu* (Art of Music) in the postwar

period, as Matsudaira's written output before the war was extremely limited.¹⁰⁴ Cited articles in other journals are significantly fewer. Kiyose's (1981), Mitsukuri's (1948), and Sugawara's (1998) writings have also been published in compilations. While the possibility that I have missed some writings or interviews should not be ruled out, it is unlikely that these documents would dramatically change the views introduced in this chapter.

4.1 Mitsukuri Shūkichi's theory of Japanese harmony

Mitsukuri Shūkichi (1895–1971) proposed one of the most systematic approaches to Japanese-style composition in his theory of East Asian harmony (*tōyō waseiron*), or quintal harmony (*godo waseiron*)—later Japanese harmony (*Nihonteki waseiron*), as it is called here. Since the concept of harmony does not exist in most genres of traditional Japanese music but has a significant role in Western art music, Mitsukuri reasoned in 1929 that a harmony based on traditional Japanese music would result in the most profound synthesis of Japanese and Western principles. Consequently, Mitsukuri's contribution to the discussion on Japanese-style composition was largely defined by music theory. Can one, however, truly be motivated to express a Japanese quality in purely theoretical terms without any further implications of culture or identity? This is a question that can be addressed only by closer examination of Mitsukuri's written output.

Mitsukuri had a significant role in establishing Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei, but he was an exception in the society as the only founding member not employed in a position involving musical activities, alongside Shioiri Kamesuke. Mitsukuri did originally intend to enter a musical career, but this was not approved by his father. He ended up studying chemistry at the prestigious Imperial University of Tokyo, where he took part in musical activities by conducting the university orchestra and composing music for school festivities. After graduating in 1921, he left Japan to study physical chemistry in Germany, where he also took lessons in harmony from Georg Schumann from 1923. After returning to Japan in 1925, Mitsukuri was employed as an engineer in the Imperial Japanese Navy, but began studying music seriously at the same time. He took lessons in orchestration from Josef König, in transcription from Sugawara Meirō, in Théodore Dubois's counterpoint and fugue from Ikenouchi Tomojirō, in Wilhelm Klatte's counterpoint from Ike Yuzuru, and in conducting from Joseph Rosenstock.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ For a comprehensive list of music periodicals in Japan, see Lin (1988).

¹⁰⁵ All biographical information here is from Dohi (1988, 60–62). Sugawara and Ike were among the founding members of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei. Ike had studied composition in Europe, directly under Klatte. Ikenouchi was to study in Paris Conservatory from 1928 to 1934; resources on Mitsukuri do not, however, specify when his studies with Ikenouchi took place. König and Rosenstock were German musicians working in Tokyo.

The initial idea of creating a Japanese harmony system was a result of Mitsukuri's experiences in composing. He wrote his first works in 1926.¹⁰⁶ Whereas they resemble the styles of Brahms, Chopin, Mozart, and Tchaikovsky (Togashi 1956, 296), Mitsukuri began experimenting with a new harmony system after writing *Two Poems* (*Futatsu no shi*, 1928; the first one for cello and piano and the second for violin and piano). He wrote an “Asian-like” melody¹⁰⁷ for the second poem, and noticed that his “ears demanded” hearing something other than German-style harmony—or tonal functional harmony—as its accompaniment (Mitsukuri 1930a, 5). In the following year in *Collection of Little Pieces* (*Kokyokushū*, 1929)—three songs for his own poems—Mitsukuri again adopted a harmony different from German theory. Consequently, he began to examine the musical language in these works, and wrote his first treatise on Japanese harmony in December 1929. In the article titled “On national music” (“Kokumin ongaku ni tsuite”), Mitsukuri suggested that Japanese composers should join together to create a Japanese harmony suited to accompany Japanese melodies better than Western harmony (Mitsukuri 1929).

After publishing this initial treatise, Mitsukuri noticed that the harmonies he had adopted were based on the intervals of the fourth and fifth, and came up with the theory of quintal harmony (*godo waseiron*) (Mitsukuri 1930a, 5–6). He introduced and developed it further in writings on the subject during 1930, and composed his most well-known work adopting the theory, *Collections of Bashō's Travels* (*Bashō kikōshū*, 1930–1931) for singer and piano. However, he did not discuss the topic during the following years until 1934. This was possibly due to his active participation in developing Japanese music culture. He was the key founder of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei in 1930, and in 1933, he was among the founders of the music journal *Ongaku hyōron* (Music Review),¹⁰⁸ which became a prominent arena for the discussion of Western art music in the 1930s. Mitsukuri also wrote actively on contemporary European music: the topics of his writings ranged from the works of Schönberg (Mitsukuri 1930b) to Milhaud (Mitsukuri 1933). He did not, however, receive notable attention during the first half of the 1930s. It seems likely that boundaries in the music world of the time affected this. Not only was Mitsukuri an “outsider”—or non-academic composer—he was also an outsider among the other “outsiders” in that he was an engineer by profession. Because of his position in the Navy, he also had to publish some of his musical works and

¹⁰⁶ Apparently, Mitsukuri had been composing since he was in high school (Togashi 1956, 296). However, he called the orchestral dances *Mazurka* and *Waltz* (1926) his first “proper works” (Mitsukuri 1948, 116) and gave them the opus number 1 (*ibid.*, 152).

¹⁰⁷ This is the term that Mitsukuri himself (1930a, 5) used. The melody follows a pentatonic scale.

¹⁰⁸ Apart from Mitsukuri, Komatsu Heigorō and Kiyoshi, Moroi Saburō, Ōki Masao (大木正夫, 1901–1971), Yamamoto Naotada, and Yamane Ginji were involved in establishing the journal (Kiyose 1963a, 16).

writings under pseudonyms between 1933 and 1945 (Kitajima et al. 1979, 240).¹⁰⁹

Mitsukuri began to earn more attention after receiving some composition awards and having his works performed in Europe. *Sinfonietta in D* (1934) won an award in the third Ongaku konkūru and was published in the Tcherepnin Edition, after which it was also performed in several cities in Europe (Togashi 1956, 295). The third movement adopts Mitsukuri's harmony theory, and possibly resulting from its success Mitsukuri returned to discussing his theory again in 1934. *Sinfonietta* was the first success in a series of notable recognitions. Sonata for Violin and Chamber Orchestra (1935; later arranged for violin and piano) won an award in a competition organized by the national broadcasting company NHK in 1936, and the next year, *Piano Pieces After Flowers* (*Hana ni chinanda pianokyoku*, 1935) was performed in Germany in a concert introducing works by composers of the Japanese Federation for Contemporary Composers (Akiyama 1979, 16).¹¹⁰ Rhené-Baton—a well-known French conductor and composer—conducted *Collections of Bashō's Travels* in Paris and approached Mitsukuri through a letter in 1937 (Rhené-Baton 1937). In 1939, Mitsukuri received the Weingartner prize¹¹¹ for *Sinfonietta in D*, and the orchestral overture *Walking the Earth* (*Daichi o ayumu*, 1939), composed for the festivities of 1940, was awarded the first prize in a competition organized by the governmental organization Japanese Central Culture Federation (Nippon chūō bunka renmei).¹¹² Apart from being a composer and organizer, Mitsukuri also achieved his doctorate in 1939 with a dissertation about electricity in smoke particles.

Mitsukuri composed very little after the outbreak of the Pacific War. Apart from *Three Songs of Mourning* (*Mitsu no hika*, 1943), he wrote some nationalist songs such as “Sport Event of Asian Children” (“Ajia no kodomo undōkai,” 1943). After the war, he finally devoted himself to composing. The Japan Society for Contemporary Music was re-founded in 1946, and Mitsukuri assumed position as its first chair. He composed numerous songs and orchestral works, including many related to leftist ideologies, which Katayama (2007, 91–92) has seen as a response to wartime nationalism. *Collection of Bashō's Travels* was the first Japanese work performed in gatherings of the

¹⁰⁹ The pseudonyms that Mitsukuri used were: Akiyoshi Motosaku (秋吉元作), Mitsukuri Yoshiaki (箕作良秋), Akiyama Jun (秋山準), Akiba Yutaka (秋葉豊), Akiyoshi Shō (秋吉生), Mitsukuri Shō (箕作生), and Mimizuku Shō (木兎生) (Romanization possibly differs from what Mitsukuri intended). Whenever these writers are cited in this study, they refer to Mitsukuri. Akiyoshi and Akiyama were the two pseudonyms Mitsukuri employed most often. For a list of all of Mitsukuri's writings, see Kitajima et al. (1979, 318–382).

¹¹⁰ As Shinkō sakkyōkuka renmei had already been renamed.

¹¹¹ The Weingartner competition was a competition for Japanese composers, established by the Austrian conductor, composer, and pianist Felix Weingartner (1863–1942). The first prize included the performance of the winning compositions by Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra (Galliano 2002, 92).

¹¹² The work later became the first movement of Mitsukuri's Symphony No. 1 in F major (1950).

ISCM in the postwar period, and Mitsukuri also received some notable awards (Hosokawa and Katayama 2008, 674). Like many other prewar composers, however, Mitsukuri's role in Japanese music of the postwar period was limited, and he did not discuss his theory after 1953 (Mitsukuri 1985). His most notable contributions to Japanese music were focused in the prewar and immediate postwar years.

The issue of Japanese harmony was not entirely new when Mitsukuri began his work on the topic. The first conscious attempt at studying and creating a Japanese harmony theory was made by the composer group Sakkyoku kenkyūkai (Society for the Study of Composition) in 1917 (Kojima 1962b, 35). The composer and theorist Tanaka Shōhei (1940) also proposed a theory of Japanese harmony at approximately the same time as Mitsukuri. All of them aimed at the same goal: the synthesis of Western and Japanese music—or the interpretation of Western principles from a Japanese perspective. Of these approaches, Mitsukuri's theory has received the most attention in research. This attention has, however, remained mostly on the level of mentioning its existence; while many studies touch on Mitsukuri's theory,¹¹³ none of them discuss it in detail. The following thus seeks to give a sufficient description of Mitsukuri's theory to understand its basics before advancing to a discussion of its more specific influences and meanings.

In his initial treatise on Japanese harmony at the end of 1929, Mitsukuri stressed that to compose Japanese-style music, the adoption of Japanese melodies was not sufficient; composers should also write Japanese harmonies. To solve the problem, he suggested that Japanese composers should join together to create a harmony system. Instead of imitating traditional Japanese music as such, he considered three approaches as possible reference materials for this goal: modern harmonies, the harmony used in the Asian-influenced works by Ravel and Debussy, and the harmonies employed by the Russian national school with “Japanese-sounding melodies.” Mitsukuri saw that while Asian harmonies were possibly a mere sidetrack for French Impressionists, their work could serve as an example for Japanese composers. He pointed out that some melodies by the Russian school resembled Japanese music, and could thus be accompanied by harmonies facilitating the creation of a Japanese theory. Mitsukuri also gave several examples of modern harmonies, including the works of the Swedish composer Kurt Attenberg (1887–1974) and the Austrian Franz Schrecker (1878–1934), microtonality of Alois Hába (1893–1973), Schönberg's quartal harmony,¹¹⁴ and theories of Hugo Riemann. Mitsukuri emphasized that the creation of a Japanese harmony required new approaches as opposed to classical ones, since music always “reflects its time.”¹¹⁵

¹¹³ E.g. Matsudaira (1969b, 78–80); Takase (1974); Herd (1987, 40–49; 2004, 50–51); Galliano (2002, 67–68), and Pacun (2012, 23).

¹¹⁴ Mitsukuri most likely referred to the harmonies introduced in *Harmonielehre* (Schönberg 1948 [1911], 327–329).

¹¹⁵ Everything here is from Mitsukuri 1929 (6–8).

Mitsukuri found his solution to the issue at the end of 1929. Instead of *creating* a Japanese harmony, Mitsukuri (1930a, 4) now emphasized that Japanese composers should *discover* it. For Mitsukuri, the process of discovering was a combination of Japanese and Western approaches. After having studied Schönberg's quartal harmony and noting that Japanese-sounding harmonies were based on the interval of the fifth, Mitsukuri reasoned that a Japanese harmony theory should be based on the intervals of fifth and fourth (ibid., 5). According to Mitsukuri (ibid., 6), the foundation of a Japanese harmony was thus based on the formula:

$$\left(\frac{3}{2}\right)^n \quad n = 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5... \quad (n \text{ is an integer})$$

The formula is about basic acoustic physics.¹¹⁶ When the vibration frequency of a pitch is multiplied by $\left(\frac{3}{2}\right)$, the pitch rises by a perfect fifth. Therefore, when having C as the fundamental tone, for example, Mitsukuri's formula results in a series of ascending fifths: C, G, D, A, E, and so forth. Like Western tonality, Mitsukuri wanted Japanese harmony to be a dualist system. He also suggested the existence of a series based on negative values of the power, producing a series of descending fifths. In this formula, the series produced from C would be C, F, B \flat , E \flat , A \flat , and so forth:

$$\left(\frac{3}{2}\right)^{-n} \quad n = 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5... \quad (n \text{ is an integer})$$

Mitsukuri constructed his harmony on the pitches produced with these two series in the same manner as Western harmony has been reasoned to follow the order of pitches in the overtone series. For example, if A is the fundamental, the first three pitches in the ascending series would be A, E, and B. Therefore, A-B-E is a consonant triad in Mitsukuri's system (Mitsukuri 1934, 17). Similarly, if E is the fundamental in the descending series, E-A-D is a consonant triad. Mitsukuri (1930a, 6) emphasized the significance of major seconds in Japanese harmony and later noted (as Akiyoshi 1941, 19) that calling his theory "secundal harmony" would be more accurate than "quintal harmony"—as opposed to the German "tertial harmony."

Mitsukuri's initial goal was to create a harmony suitable for Japanese melodies. He referred to the phenomenon as what his "ears demanded hearing" (Mitsukuri 1930a, 5). This is why scales—and melodies—are also constructed from the series of fifths (ex. 4.1). They are fundamentally pentatonic scales, as the first five pitches in the ascending or descending series are the most

¹¹⁶ The method of presenting the series with arithmetic ratios has been in practice since the Pythagorean theory; Mitsukuri's case was possibly influenced by the similar presentations of von Oettingen (1866), who was a physicist like Mitsukuri.

important (ibid., 6). This is why the sixth and seventh degrees—as they were referred to by Mitsukuri—are given in black in example 4.1. The two scales are called “positive” and “negative” (e.g. Akiyoshi 1937b, 27), but Mitsukuri also used the terms *in* and *yō* in Japanese (e.g. Akiyoshi 1941, 22–23).¹¹⁷ He also occasionally called the scales “major” and “minor” (e.g. Akiyoshi 1937b, 26)—suggesting that they are actually *relative modes*. This is why they are hereafter referred to as positive and negative modes. Likewise, a mode from a certain fundamental becomes a *key*. The two keys in example 4.1, for example, are hereafter referred to as “positive A” and “negative E” (compare with “A major” and “E minor” in Western music theory).



Example 4.1 “Positive” (above) and “negative” (below) scales in Mitsukuri’s theory. Mitsukuri (e.g. 1930a) always started the positive scale from A and the negative from E in his examples.

Mitsukuri (1934, 17) explained that the two modes exist simultaneously in Japanese harmony, which results in a constant sharpening of the sixth degree of the negative scale so that it becomes the fourth degree of the relative positive scale, and vice versa. This also enables modulations between them; Mitsukuri (1948, 145) stressed the importance of constant modulations in music adopting the theory. He also described resolutions for certain types of chords, by reasoning that since the major third is far away from the fundamental in the series of ascending fifths (ex. 4.1), it is a dissonance, unlike in Western harmony (Mitsukuri 1934, 117; as Akiyoshi 1941, 28). According to Mitsukuri (ibid.), fifths (or fourths, when paralleled), seconds, and sixths—that is, the first four degrees of the series—should occur to a much larger extent than major thirds. As a dissonance, major third from the fundamental (fifth degree) should resolve to major second (third degree); this also applies to the sixth and seventh degrees. Mitsukuri (1934, 18) considered the triton so typical of Japanese music that it should be constantly applied in works adopting his harmony.

¹¹⁷ As for “positive” and “negative,” Mitsukuri used the loanwords “positibu” and “negatibu.” *In* and *yō* refer to “shadow” and “light.” In the West, the Japanese term *in’yō* (shadow and light) is more commonly known by its Chinese equivalent *yin* and *yang*. Although the same terms were also used by Uehara Rokushirō in his theory of traditional music, the scales in Mitsukuri’s theory differ from them (ex. 3.3).

Mitsukuri (as Akiyoshi 1937c, 59) also described some further applications of his theory. For example, he noted that a whole-tone scale could be created by the following formula:

$$\left(\frac{3}{2}\right)^n \quad n = 0, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10... (n \text{ is an even})$$

He also brought up the idea that Schönberg's quartal harmony can be described with a similar formula by changing the value of multiplication, resulting in a series of fourths (as Akiyoshi 1937c, 59):

$$\left(\frac{4}{3}\right)^n \quad n = 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5... (n \text{ is an integer})$$

By introducing these applications, Mitsukuri possibly wanted to demonstrate that his idea is applicable to wider systems of harmony or scales, as he (as Akiyoshi 1937c, 59) asserted that his theory could be used to compose “universal” music. However, Mitsukuri (1948, 132–133) noted that particularly the whole-tone scale had already drifted away from the idea of “audibly Japanese” harmony; furthermore, the series based on fourths is identical with the negative series based on fifths.

The description of Mitsukuri's theory above introduces the foundations of the system, but it is not comprehensive.¹¹⁸ While the tonal material in Mitsukuri's theory is different from Western harmony, his systems shares many basic aspects with it. These include the recognition of consonance and dissonance, and harmonic dualism. Mitsukuri did not create his theory to substitute for Western harmony as such, however. He did not, for example, develop rules for harmonic functions, or typical cadences and chord sequences. Rather, he emphasized the role of his theory as an altogether new approach that could be, nevertheless, used with Western compositional techniques, such as counterpoint (as Akiyoshi 1937a, 12). Naturally, virtually any compositional technique allows composing counterpoint, but by this statement Mitsukuri most likely wanted to connect his theory with the tradition of Western art music. He did not, however, discuss this any further, and admitted that his theory was not complete even in its final form (Mitsukuri 1948, 132).

As the description above shows, the goal of Mitsukuri's system was to synthesize aspects of Western and Japanese music. Not surprisingly, the two major influences for his system were from Western and Japanese theories: the Riemannian theory of harmonic dualism, and the theory of scales and

¹¹⁸ For comprehensive accounts on Mitsukuri's theory in its final form, see Mitsukuri (1948 and 1985). To be sure, understanding his theory in the context Western art music would benefit from a more detailed comparison with other similar approaches. My intention here is, however, to primarily examine it as Japanese-style composition in the 1930s—not in the general context of Western art music.

harmonies in *gagaku*. Mitsukuri did not originally mention these two influences, but implied them in several writings. He did, however, already mention Riemann as a particularly well-suited possible starting point for the creation of Japanese harmony in his very first treatise on the topic (Mitsukuri 1929, 8), and discussed *gagaku* as an influence at a later stage (as Akiyoshi 1937b, 28).

The idea of the descending series of fifths as a parallel to the ascending is a direct influence from Riemann's theory of harmonic dualism, or minor as the polar opposite—or inversion—of major. According to Riemann (1886, 20), each pitch had an acoustic, descending “undertone series” that was an inversion of the overtone series. For example, the inversion of the C major triad is the F minor triad; thus, according to Riemann, the undertone series proved that minor triads were based on physics and were therefore consonances (Rehding 2003, 16).¹¹⁹ The difference between Riemann's and Mitsukuri's theories is that Mitsukuri's harmony is not based on acoustics, but on his own idea of ascending and descending series, which he simply treated in a similar way as Riemann's discussion on the major and minor in Western tonality. This possibly explains why he occasionally referred to the negative series as an “imaginary side” of Japanese harmony (e.g. as Akiyoshi 1941b, 21). Although Riemann's influence is apparent, however, Mitsukuri never explicitly mentioned that the negative series was based on Riemannian theory.

The other obvious influence for Mitsukuri's harmony are Chinese music theories, which also resemble Pythagorean theory. The positive and negative modes were not new inventions as such: they correspond with Lydian and Locrian modes. In the context of traditional Japanese music, however, Mitsukuri's theory of harmony resembles the one in court music *gagaku*. The scales in *gagaku* are also formed on the same principle as Mitsukuri's positive mode, a series of ascending fifths (e.g. Harich-Schneider 1973, 137; Garfias 1975, 57). Moreover, the interval structure of the positive mode in Mitsukuri's theory—with the sixth and seventh degrees omitted—is the equivalent of the *gagaku* mode *ryo*. The idea of the fundamentally pentatonic scales containing two other less important pitches is a similarity with *gagaku* modes, although in them the actual placement of the additional pitches varies according to scale (ibid.). Chords in Mitsukuri's theory—based mostly on the intervals of the second, fourth, fifth, and sixth—share much in common with the *aitake* in *gagaku* (ex. 3.4). For example, the chord formed by the ascending series of fifths from D until the fifth degree is identical with the cluster *bō* in terms of pitches (ex. 4.2).

¹¹⁹ It has been proven that an acoustic undertone series does not exist, and it has no place in modern music theory. It was, however, a major theory in the beginning of the twentieth century (Rehding 2003, 15–18). For more on Riemann's dualism, see Klumpenhouwer (2002).



Example 4.2 Tone cluster *bō* (left) and the same pitches produced with ascending series of fifths from D.

While the negative scale does not have an equivalent in *gagaku*, but is an influence from Riemann's undertone series, Mitsukuri's concept of consonance and dissonance resembles those in *gagaku*. In *gagaku*, chords consisting of the five first pitches of a series of fifths are consonances, whereas those containing further pitches are dissonances (Garfias 1975, 65–66). This apparent similarity notwithstanding, Mitsukuri implied parallels between chords in his theory and the *aitake* in only one of his writings (Mitsukuri 1934, 7 and 20). On the other hand, Mitsukuri's way of emphasizing the importance of seconds in his system is different from Tanabe Hisao's explanations on *gagaku* harmony. According to Tanabe (1937, 17), the fourth and fifth are consonances in *gagaku*, whereas Mitsukuri emphasized seconds as well.¹²⁰ In these aspects, Mitsukuri's theory shares many similarities with *gagaku* but is not based on *gagaku* harmonies or scales as such.

While Mitsukuri discussed his theory mostly in terms of harmony, he also made some rules for melodies. He noted that, in the same sense that melodies in Western music typically end on pitches of tonic or dominant chords, melodies in negative E tend to end on E, sometimes also on the second degree A (Mitsukuri 1934, 17). As Koizumi Fumio's theory on scales in traditional music (see Chapter 3.4 and ex. 3.1) had not yet been published in the 1930s, it would be interesting to explore whether Mitsukuri's theory bears any similarities to it in terms of scales and melodies. It was already mentioned that the positive mode is equivalent of the *gagaku* mode *ryo*. If the rule of melodies ending on first or second degree also applies to the positive mode, it corresponds to the nuclear tones in the *ryo* scale (Kojima 2008, 52). In this way, Mitsukuri's theory shows a similarity to both *gagaku* and Koizumi's theory. The melodic rule for negative E scale, as well, corresponds to the nuclear tones in the *min'yō* scale from E (ex. 4.3). The scale itself is, however, different in this case. As these examples demonstrate, Mitsukuri's theory was influenced by some aspects of traditional music, but did not seek to imitate it as such.



Example 4.3 Mitsukuri's negative scale from E (left; sixth and seventh degrees omitted) and the *min'yō* scale (right; nuclear tones marked with whole notes).

¹²⁰ Interestingly, similar ideas on consonance and dissonance—although in an entirely different context—were also discussed by Kolinski (1962).

But what other than simply methodological issues does Mitsukuri's theory represent? On the surface, it was an account based purely on music theory and proposed to solve a concrete problem—the issue of composing harmony for Japanese melodies. For Japanese composers of the time, it was clearly an important matter to tackle; as the discussion on Kiyose Yasuji shows (Chapter 4.2), some regarded harmony as an altogether alien concept in Japanese music. For these reasons, Chōki (2010, 179), for example, has argued that the “national” for Mitsukuri was limited to music theory. From a purely technical perspective, this is true. Mitsukuri did, however, identify as a “Japanese-style composer” (as Akiyama 1940b, 72), and examining his writings more closely reveals that although deceptively discussed in methodological terms, Mitsukuri's approach also implies the expression of Japanese identity in a musical context.

This was suggested already in the very first treatise entitled “On national music” (Mitsukuri 1929). In this treatise, Mitsukuri not only emphasized the need for a harmony to accompany Japanese melodies, but also noted that the Japanese differ from Westerners “by appearance” and “spiritually,” leading to the conclusion that a “national quality” should be inherent to music composed in Japan (ibid., 3). Some years later, he noted that it was only natural that Western people wanted to hear triads of Western harmony, whereas the Japanese needed Japanese harmony (as Akiyoshi 1937b, 28). While acknowledging that Japan of the 1930s was no longer “an isolated island state but a cosmopolitan society,” Mitsukuri still went so far as to assert that the sentiment of Japanese composers sometimes “bursts out like a volcano,” and that it is impossible for one to “conceal their heart” (as Akiyoshi 1937c, 63). This kind of Japanese expression is something that, according to Mitsukuri, could not be achieved solely by adopting his theory (ibid.).

In other words, Mitsukuri's awakening to the necessity of Japanese harmony—a process during which he unexpectedly noted that his ears “demanded” the use of Japanese harmony instead of the Western theory in which he had been trained (Mitsukuri 1930a, 5)—connects directly with the then current trend of reevaluating Japanese culture (Chapter 2.2). For Mitsukuri, this trend was expressed through his theory of harmony. In this context, it exceeds the meaning of a mere methodological approach: it was, in reality, Mitsukuri's attempt at creating a *Japanese idiom of composition*. This aspect is emphasized particularly in his original wish for Japanese composers to work on the topic together. It did, however, also naturally connect with his artistic ambitions; Mitsukuri (1929, 3) asserted that “national” was a quality of the music of every great composer, and that national music was always international by nature. In this aspect, Mitsukuri's thought was certainly not nationalist, but represented a Japanese aspect and Japanese identity.

Considering this, it is revealing of the discourse of the time that Mitsukuri did not discuss the “national” in the music of any other European composer—particularly as he demonstrated extensive knowledge of Western composers in his writings. The potential European influences he originally introduced had

to do with methodological approaches and materials that could be used or adapted in the context of Japanese-style composition. That is, Mitsukuri was not that interested in studying how to make music “national” from European examples, but rather in how to introduce a Japanese quality into music. This, ultimately, fused methodological aspects with the expression of identity.

It should be noted, however, that it was equally important for Mitsukuri to discover new expressions in Western art music from a Japanese point of view. He emphasized the need to develop music further, instead of solely relying on materials of the past (e.g. Akiyoshi 1937a, 11; Akiyoshi 1941, 18–19), and thus regarded his approach as a method of writing modern music.¹²¹ In this context, Hara Tarō’s criticism of Japanese-style composers—including Mitsukuri—for “denying external influence” and “clinging to the past” (see Komiya 1976, 93 and Chapter 2.2) is unjustified. As a response, Mitsukuri asserted that Hara had misunderstood his approach, since it did not deny foreign ideas but sought to synthesize European and Japanese approaches (as Akiyoshi 1936, 31; 35–36). Lamenting that Western compositional techniques were often misunderstood as an alternative to Japanese elements, Mitsukuri saw that they should rather be combined (as Akiyoshi 1936, 36).¹²² From this point of view, Mitsukuri’s approach obviously fit well with Shinkō sakkyōkuka renmei’s founding thesis of supporting modern music.

Although Mitsukuri originally wished for cooperation in developing the system, this call was not answered. Some supported his approach (e.g. Arima 1941, 32), but Sugawara (1941, 34–35), for example, wrote an article criticizing the idea of Japanese-style harmony. Yamane Ginji, as well, criticized Mitsukuri’s theory for being too “weak” and introducing nothing altogether new (see Akiyama 2003, 536).¹²³ Mitsukuri’s theory was also criticized by Klaus Pringsheim—a German composer teaching at the Tokyo Academy of Music—who took part in the debates of the late 1930s (see Galliano 2002, 42). Pringsheim’s criticism is not surprising; he advocated combining Japanese melodies with Western functional harmony (Puringusuhaimu 1936), whereas Mitsukuri (1929, 4) had opposed this idea from the very beginning.¹²⁴ Pringsheim noted that Western harmony is based on the interval of the fifth as well—apparent in the distance between the tonic and the dominant and subdominant—and that the emphasis on the fifth in Japanese music was not Mitsukuri’s own discovery, but found in music dictionaries by Riemann

¹²¹ The approach of creating a theory for music is a parallel to Schönberg, whom Mitsukuri admired.

¹²² Regarding these elements as alternatives to each other was, however, typical among composers of the time in general (Katayama 2007, 113).

¹²³ For example, similar harmonies had been adopted in other Japanese works as well, including Yamada’s *Spring Rain* (*Harusame*), and Nobutoki’s *Akagari*—both given as examples of successful Japanese-style harmony by Mitsukuri himself (1936a, 36).

¹²⁴ Resulting from Pringsheim’s criticism, Mitsukuri’s theory was apparently also criticized in German music journals published directly under the Nazi regime. Mitsukuri (as Akiyoshi 1937a, 12) saw the reason for this as lying in the idea that music had been renewed by Jewish people in the past, and that his approach of renewing music theory was considered a “Jewish-like” action.

(Puringusuhaimu 1936, 64).¹²⁵ Possibly resulting from Pringsheim's criticism, Mitsukuri later noted that he did not claim to have discovered that Japanese music was based on fifths, but had nevertheless invented original scales and the handling of harmony (Akiyoshi 1937b, 28).

As noted, Mitsukuri did not consider his theory completed even in its final form, and acknowledged that adopting the further applications of the harmony would lead to a chromatic musical language rather than a Japanese one (Mitsukuri 1948, 132). Mitsukuri's call for other composers to work on the harmony was never answered, and his theory did not attain the position, not to mention the standardization, that he possibly originally wished for. Surprisingly, according to Mitsukuri himself (*ibid.*, 130), only a small number of his own compositions—three works in total—adopt the theory: *Collections of Bashō's Travels* (1930–31) for singer and piano (arranged for orchestra in 1937), the third movement of *Sinfonietta* in D (1934) for orchestra, and *Fallen Leaves (Ochiba)*, 1936) for singer and piano. In the postwar period, Mitsukuri (*ibid.*) commented that he did not consider there to be a need to use or develop the system anymore.¹²⁶

Even though Mitsukuri's theory was never adopted to wider usage, however, I would like to argue that it possibly held a more important role in the history of composition in Japan than has been recognized thus far. In his original treatise on the subject, Mitsukuri (1929, 7) wished for Japanese composers, musicians, and music critics with an interest in modern music to join together and search for ways to solve the issue of harmony in Japanese music. Is this not exactly what Mitsukuri put into effect in April 1930 by founding Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei? A speculative idea, indeed, but backed up by Mitsukuri's writings. Let us return to the list of names he gave as examples of persons he wished to work on Japanese harmony together. On the topic of how Riemann's theory could be applied to the subject, Mitsukuri (*ibid.*, 8) called for the co-operation of Ike Yuzuru, Saitō Hideo, Yamamoto Naotada, and Utsumi Seiichirō (内海誓一郎, 1902–1995), and for French music, Komatsu Heigorō, Komatsu Kiyoshi, Sugawara Meirō, and Itō Noboru. For Russian music, Mitsukuri (*ibid.*) saw that there were no specialists on the subject in Japan at the time, and volunteered to be one of those to research the subject.

In other words, of the eight composers that Mitsukuri gave as persons whose co-operation he wished for, only Utsumi was not among the founding composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei.¹²⁷ Does this not suggest that Mitsukuri's theory was, actually, the trigger for founding the group?

¹²⁵ This is, however, a misapprehension: Riemann (1922, 217) discussed Chinese and Japanese music together and based solely on *gagaku* theories. The idea of Japanese music being based on the interval of the fifth was indeed presented by Riemann in some earlier writings (1902a–d), but here, as well, it was based solely on *gagaku*.

¹²⁶ He did, however, return to it in an English-language account in 1953, where he also tried to apply his theory to scales in traditional Japanese music (Mitsukuri 1985, 38)—only five years before Koizumi published his widely-accepted theory of scales in traditional music.

¹²⁷ Utsumi, however, joined the society in 1931.

Considering the significance of the society in the Japan of the 1930s—particularly after it became the Japanese branch of the ISCM in 1935—Mitsukuri’s theory possibly had a crucial impact on the development of music culture of the time. Should this assumption be correct, it carries historical significance that has remained largely unrecognized.

4.2 Kiyose Yasuji: “the culture of the past” as modern expression

Kiyose Yasuji’s (1900–1981) work is, in a sense, a culmination of all the qualities that were both criticized and advocated about the national school. He was a strong supporter of a Japanese idiom of composition and opposed adopting Western music—particularly music theory—as such. In Kiyose’s writings, however, we do not encounter only a composer interested in presenting Japanese elements in musical works, but also a proponent of traditional culture and an artist worried about the hegemony of Western culture in Japanese society. These views, that echo the complex social issues of the time, made Kiyose one of the most representative Japanese-style composers of the time.

Kiyose was born in Ōita prefecture in Kyūshū, the Westernmost of the main islands of Japan. Western music was unknown in Ōita during the time, and Kiyose grew up hearing mostly traditional music; his father, for example, hosted musicians during their visits to Kyūshū (Togashi 1956, 137). Kiyose’s encounter with Western music was a consequence of unfortunate events: he fell seriously ill in high school and was forced to move to Beppu to rest. During this period, he heard Western music performed by a musician from Tokyo for the first time (ibid.). Kiyose (1930a, 36; 1938) later reminisced about being shocked by the powerful impression that Beethoven’s works had on him. After this experience, he decided to become a composer of Western-style music. Kiyose soon withdrew from the high school he had attended from 1919, and moved to Tokyo to study composition with Yamada in 1920 (Togashi 1956, 137).

In Tokyo, however, Kiyose experienced insurmountable difficulties in comprehending Western functional harmony (Akiyama 1979, 8), which he found “unnatural” after months of studying (in Hirata 1936, 55).¹²⁸ After this, he retired to the countryside in Kyūshū to reflect on his difficulties and learn composition and the piano on his own (Akiyama 1979, 8). During this time, he encountered French Impressionism and was enchanted by its aesthetics (Kiyose 1930a). Instead of studying German theory and harmony, Kiyose realized that impressionism was the example that he wanted to follow as a composer (ibid., 37).

¹²⁸ This has also been described by Hayasaka (1942a, 65). According to Hosokawa and Katayama (2008, 237), Kiyose’s difficulties stemmed from the idea that harmony should be structured from the melody.

The first “Japanese-style” work that Kiyose wrote was the song *Travel Sleeping* (旅寝, *Tabine*; 1922). After completing the work, Kiyose noticed—to his shock—that he had unintentionally adopted a scale of traditional Japanese music (Kiyose 1972a, 152).¹²⁹ This resulted in what Kiyose himself (*ibid.*) described as a “complex,” which caused him to temporarily lose his confidence in composing and wonder if his aesthetic preferences lay, after all, fundamentally in traditional Japanese music rather than Western music.¹³⁰ In 1925, he went to Tokyo to hear the performance of the French pianist Henri Gil-Marchex. This became a turning point for Kiyose, who decided to stay in Tokyo after realizing the opportunities that the capital offered in terms of organizing concerts and taking part in musical activities. He began to study composition again, this time with Komatsu Kōsuke. Matsudaira, who studied with Komatsu as well, later reminisced that the two composers were connected by their mutual interest in French Impressionism and Japanese elements, and not understanding why the German tradition of composition was held in such high regard. At the same time, Kiyose met also Komatsu Kōsuke’s younger brothers Heigorō and Kiyoshi. Kiyose, Matsudaira, and the younger Komatsu brothers—all of whom were to be founders of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei—gathered frequently to discuss various issues of composition (Matsudaira 1995, 52).

Kiyose found his approach to composition at the end of the 1920s, when he began writing articles for *Ongaku shinchō* (New Wave Music), a journal with the reputation of representing the most modern and radical musical views (Togashi 1956, 138). Many of his writings discussed Japanese-style composition—an approach that was now apparent in his musical work as well. Kiyose’s official debut as composer took place in 1927, when the baritone Terui Eizō (照井栄三, 1888–1945) recorded his song *Without Noticing* (*Itsu to naku*, 1928) (Hosokawa and Katayama 2008, 237). After Kiyose participated in the founding of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei in 1930, his works were frequently performed in gatherings of the society, and on JOAK’s first radio broadcast of contemporary Japanese music in 1930. Now that Kiyose had identified himself as a composer of the national school, he began criticizing Western music theory in his writings. Still, he studied music theory with Klaus Pringsheim for three years from 1932. In 1934, Kiyose participated in the foundation of the avant-garde composer group School of New Music (Shin ongakuha) with Itō Noboru and Ishii Gorō. He was also favored by Tcherepnin, who recorded his

¹²⁹ Interestingly, the same happened to Takemitsu Tōru, who was Kiyose’s pupil. He discovered that he had adopted Japanese scales unconsciously in his early piano works. The reactions of the two composers were different, however: whereas Kiyose decided to deepen his understanding of Japanese music, Takemitsu, who resented anything even possibly nationalist, was shocked to the degree that he destroyed the works (see Miyamoto 1996, 57).

¹³⁰ However, Kiyose’s knowledge of traditional music was not entirely intuitional; he studied Tanabe Hisao’s *Lectures on Japanese Music* (*Nippon ongaku kōwa*, 1919) in the early 1920s (Kiyose 1972a, 147).

compositions on the piano and published some of his works, such as the piano piece *Spring in the Hills* (*Oka no haru*, 1932), in the Tcherepnin Edition.

Kiyose composed mostly songs and small piano pieces until 1937, from which point on he began writing orchestral music as well. A representative example is *Fantasy on a Theme from Japanese Folk Songs* (*Nihon min'yō no shudai ni yoru gensōkyoku*, 1939), which was one of the seventeen works of *kokuminshikyoku*.¹³¹ During the war, Kiyose served as a board member in the Association for Japanese Music Culture (*Nihon ongaku bunka kyōkai*), the umbrella society for all musical activities. In 1946, he joined the re-established Japan Society for Contemporary Music, but also participated in the foundation of the Society for New Wave Composition (*Shin sakkyōkuha kyōkai*; see Chapter 2.4). The society served as a link between generations, as Kiyose was the one to introduce the young Takemitsu Tōru to the group (Ozawa and Takemitsu 1984, 139). In 1949, Kiyose assumed the position of the chair of the Japan Society for Contemporary Music, and devoted himself to developing the music world of Japan (Hosokawa and Katayama 2008, 237). Kiyose continued to deepen his involvement with Japanese-style composition in the postwar period by writing works for Japanese instruments, such as a *shakuhachi* trio in 1964. As a composer, however, he did not attain notable attention, and is best-known for being regarded as a teacher by Takemitsu (Ozawa and Takemitsu 1984, 139).

Kiyose's background sketches an interesting framework against which to examine his ideas about Japanese-style composition. He began to discuss music actively at the end of the 1920s, mostly in the pages of *Ongaku shinchō*. While he also touched on various topics of Western music—ranging from Stravinsky's *Rite of the Spring* (Kiyose 1930d) to Ravel (Kiyose 1932a)—Japanese-style composition and Japanese music were the two topics that he discussed most actively. Even though Kiyose (1930b, 14) claimed that he approached Japanese-style composition from a purely artistic perspective, his writings suggest otherwise. In reality, his views can be classified in two categories: discussion on Japanese-style composition from a methodological point of view—or on certain musical characteristics as Japanese elements—and discussion on Japanese-style composition from an ideological perspective. In many cases, the two overlap, as Kiyose typically emphasized the importance of certain musical elements to the Japanese people, and Japanese-style composition as a cultural necessity for him as a Japanese composer.

First, let us examine Kiyose's discussion on Japanese qualities from a musical perspective. Kiyose constantly mentioned two characteristics that he considered essential for a Japanese idiom of composition: the adoption of pentatonic scales, and composing in a “simple” or “monotonic” style.¹³² He discussed pentatonic scales—also calling them “Japanese scales”—in most of

¹³¹ See Chapter 2.3.

¹³² For “simple,” Kiyose used the word *tanjun* (単純); for “monotonic,” *tanchō* (単調). Hayasaka (1942b, 48) notes that these concepts should not be associated with “dullness.”

his writings on Japanese-style composition,¹³³ and touched upon the idea of simplicity as a particularly Japanese element in several articles.¹³⁴ Occasionally, Kiyose (e.g., 1930b, 15; 1930c, 13) synthesized the two by referring to the plain nature of pentatonic scales.¹³⁵ Aside from scales and a plain aesthetic, however, Kiyose did not refer to any other methodological approaches as Japanese-style composition. In general, his ideas were not based on theoretical discussion to the same extent as Mitsukuri's. For example, while constantly arguing the significance of Japanese scales, Kiyose did not even once specify what they meant on a musical level. "Japanese scales" obviously refer to scales in traditional music; however, since a consistent theory of them had not yet been discovered, the concept would have required some further explanation. In general, Kiyose's way of discussing the topic reflects an overall intuitive rather than analytical approach.

The same intuitivism is also apparent in Kiyose's writings on simple compositional style. He did not clarify whether "simple" stood for reduced melodies, repetitiveness, sparse use of tonal material, transparent harmonies, or any similar device. Based on his way of using the term "monotonic," it is possible that it referred to all of these.¹³⁶ Some hints can be drawn from other writings of the time, based on which the concept of simplicity as a Japanese element was not far-fetched. For example, Sunaga (1934, 115) discussed Japanese-style composition in terms highly similar to Kiyose's, noting that what may seem "simple" in traditional Japanese music on the outside was very profound on the inside. This idea corresponds with Kiyose's thought: he (e.g., 1936a, 14) emphasized that what may seem simple to non-Japanese listeners was, in reality, full of subtle nuances to anyone who understood Japanese music. What would, even so, require some clarification is how the concept of "simplicity" was to be treated in the context of Western art music.

These ideas become much more comprehensible when examined alongside Kiyose's writings on the differences between Japanese and Western music. To be more precise, approaching Kiyose's thought on Japanese-style composition solely as a musical idiom would mean ignoring its most important aspects. Kiyose typically did not discuss Japanese culture or music autonomously, but juxtaposed them with the West. A significant difference between the cultures, according to Kiyose, was that the West put excessive emphasis on theoretical views (Kiyose 1936a).¹³⁷ On a musical level, the difference was crystallized in

¹³³ Kiyose (1930b); (1930c, 11); (1936a, 13); (1981 [1936], 61); (1937, 9); and (1963b) in the postwar period.

¹³⁴ Kiyose (1930b, 15); (1930c, 14); (1932b, 23); (1932c, 14); (1936a, 14); and (1937, 8).

¹³⁵ Hayasaka (1942b, 48), as well, suggests that Kiyose regarded pentatonic scales as a type of "monotonic" or "simple" expression.

¹³⁶ Japanese music as "monotonic" is a view that has emerged in postwar discussion as well; for example, see Kikkawa (1980, 153).

¹³⁷ This idea was apparently fostered by Tcherepnin, who discussed German music theory in negative terms with Japanese composers (see Kiyose 1934, 45). Juxtaposing Western "logicality" with Japanese "illogicality" is also a very typical assertion of the *nihonjinron* discourse, and is still encountered even in relatively recent writings on music (e.g. Sawabe 2001, 21).

the theory of harmony and diatonic scales, as opposed to Japanese music with pentatonic scales and no harmony.¹³⁸ Kiyose (1936a, 14) asserted that the Japanese did not necessarily need Western music theory. Whereas Sunaga (1934, 113) noted that the lack of harmony might result in foreigners' disinterest in Japanese music, Kiyose went further by asserting that Westerners were probably not even able to comprehend the complex nuances of Japanese music, but saw only the "simple" outside (e.g. Kiyose 1936a, 13). Statements like "Japan is Japan, after all" (Kiyose 1930c, 15; 1937, 7) furthermore reflect the essentialistic nature of Kiyose's thought: he viewed Japan and the West from a juxtaposing viewpoint that correlates with the *nihonjinron* discourse.

On a musical level, however, his view of "the West"—although Kiyose discusses it as a monolith—seemed to represent only the German tradition of composition. As opposed to the criticism of the Western theory of functional harmony, Kiyose praised French music and bridged this discussion with Japanese-style composition. A postwar essay by Kiyose (1963a, 15–16) suggest that the style which he referred to as "French" meant French Impressionism. For example, he explained having found the conviction that he was following the correct path in French music, although finding the German tradition unnatural "as a Japanese person" (Kiyose 1930a), and noting that sensitivity to timbre was similar in Japanese and French Impressionist music (Kiyose 1933b, 18; 1937, 10). The aspiration toward simplicity is also a similarity with French modernists (e.g. Cocteau 1921, 20), as is the opposition to German music (*ibid.*, 16). Kiyose did not, however, identify pentatonic scales or musical simplicity as French influences.

Apart from the emphasis on atmospheres and timbre, the aspect that Kiyose was also influenced by was French Impressionism as an antithesis to German-style composition. This resonated with his idea of the importance of Japanese-style composition. He often mentioned how elements from traditional music were unjustly regarded as "music of the past," whereas they should be treated as contemporary expression.¹³⁹ At the same time, he stated that while not being particularly conservative, he found the new, international trends in Japan confusing (Kiyose 1932c, 14). These views are puzzling when examined against the idea of Kiyose as a modern composer; they seem to conflict with the fact that Kiyose was among the founding composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei, published mostly in the radical journal *Ongaku shinchō*, and took part in the founding of the avant-garde society School of New Music in 1934.

The contradictions in Kiyose's thought becomes much more comprehensible if we examine the different implications of "past" and

¹³⁸ *Gagaku* does have a concept of harmony, but since it originated in China, Kiyose (1936a, 13) stated that did not regard it as Japanese but as Chinese music. In an earlier writing, however, Kiyose (1933, 18) still regarded *gagaku* as a potential influence for Japanese-style expression.

¹³⁹ For example, Kiyose (1930b, 13); (1930c, 14); (1933, 16); (1935a, 50); and (1981 [1936], 61).

“contemporary” (or “modern”) in his writings. The terms take on different meanings depending on whether they are addressed in a social or musical context. In this juxtaposition, traditional Japan represents the past in cultural and social terms, whereas the West represents the modern. On a musical level, however, “the West”—or German theory—represents the past, whereas Japanese-style composition represents the modern. This conceptualization is suggested in several writings. In some accounts, Kiyose (1933, 18; 1981, 58) stated explicitly that he regarded Japanese-style music as “modern expression.” He discussed German-style composition as music of the past (Kiyose 1936a), and emphasized the need for *processing* Western influences rather than adopting or imitating them as such (Kiyose 1930b, 14).

Recognizing this juxtaposition clarifies Kiyose’s views remarkably. Kiyose emphasized the importance of searching for modern expression (1932b, 21), and this connected with his use of Japanese elements. In his view, that which was possibly new in Western music was “not that new for the Japanese” (1933a, 24; Kiyose 1933b, 18). According to Hayasaka (1942b, 47), Kiyose’s goal was not to imitate what had been done in the past (traditional Japanese music), but to express these “past” influences in a modern way, thus resulting in what Hayasaka refers to as “Japanese neoclassicism.”¹⁴⁰ In this aspect, Kiyose’s goal did not differ that much from Mitsukuri’s—only the approach itself was altogether different.

While the idea of elements from traditional music as modern expression is easily comprehensible on a musical level, Kiyose’s way of juxtaposing Western qualities with Japanese ones in negative terms reflects more than simply artistic preferences. They also merged with ideological views and became a defense of a cultural tradition that Kiyose saw as endangered by the process of modernization.¹⁴¹ These viewpoints are equally important as the artistic ones in Kiyose’s writings, and reflect the apparent feeling of cultural confusion that Japan experienced with the West during the first half of the twentieth century. This was as a consequence of Japan’s fast pace of modernization: the neglect of traditional values by the state from the mid-nineteenth century resulted in harsh reactions in the 1920s and 1930s (Morley 1971; Havens 2015, 10–11). In Kiyose’s writings, as well, we encounter an oppressed voice seeking emancipation.

One recurrent theme in the contradictory mood of the Japanese society was the universal dichotomy of rural and urban—a cultural conflict in which the rural had been “exchanged” with the urban during the process of modernization, as lamented by the folklorist Yanagita Kunio (1929). This dichotomy juxtaposed the “authentic” Japanese culture of the countryside

¹⁴⁰ Kiyose discussed the contradictory mood of Japan with the idea of the past encountering the modern on several occasions (Kiyose 1930b, 13; 1930c, 13; 1937; 1981, 61). As discussed, this was a common issue in Japan of the time (Starrs 2012; Havens 2015).

¹⁴¹ See also Tsukatani (1976), Watanabe (2002), and Starrs (2012) for more discussion on the merging of cultural, social, and political notions of “modern” and “traditional” in prewar music.

with the cosmopolitan trends in big cities. The culture shock was not only theoretical, nor did it emerge only in the writings of academics such as Yanagita; it took place in Japanese society on an everyday level, following upon the large waves of migration from the countryside to modernized metropolises, and eventually led to a conceptualized dichotomy of urban as the modern and rural as the traditional (Havens 2015).¹⁴²

This shock appeared in Kiyose's writings, as well. Kiyose, who identified as a "person of the countryside" (Kiyose 1930b, 14; 1937, 8) and was thus interested in Japanese-style expression (Kiyose 1936b, 12), also inevitably experienced and reflected the juxtaposition by stating that internationalism in Japan was "confusing" (Kiyose 1932c, 14). Even Kiyose himself (1972a, 152) later described his early interest in pentatonic scales as a "complex," and noted that during the time he began composing, Japan had undergone such developments that the emergence of national influences in Western-style composition was an unavoidable consequence.

Ultimately, then, I believe that it was precisely these ideological views that saw a transformation into what deceptively appears as discussion on artistic expression in Kiyose's writings: for him, discussion of music was about an expression of ideology and identity. True, this could arguably also apply to other founding composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei. However, none of them addressed the issue as often, as passionately, and in such a juxtaposing manner as Kiyose. In his thought, the international (Western) cultural oppression was represented by Western music theory and the academic composers who had "blindly" adopted Western music by neglecting the Japanese tradition (e.g. Kiyose 1936b, 12). By awakening the Japanese tradition in the context of Western art music, Kiyose hoped to bridge the gap between the Japanese past and Westernized present—an idea, once again, very typical in Japanese thought of the time and advocated by those worried about the same conflict as Kiyose and Yanagita (e.g. Gondō 1932).

In the Japan of the time, the juxtaposition of Japan and the West also eventually led to a romanticized idea that while traditional Japanese culture could not compete with the West in materialistic (technological) terms, it excelled in spiritual values (e.g. Takata 1934). Kiyose's views on the use of harmony ("Western technology") echo this discourse, which paradoxically fluctuated between inferiority and superiority complexes with the West (see, for example, Mouer and Sugimoto 1986, 39–43). These tendencies are apparent, for example, in his writings on the subtle nuances of Japanese music, which he considered inexpressible in Western terms and possibly even incomprehensible to Europeans; or, in his way of advocating influences from traditional music while opposing Western harmony. This also explains why Kiyose (1936a) boasted that it was not necessary for Japanese composers to study Western theory, but took lessons on Western music theory from Klaus

¹⁴² For more on this confusion in general, see Morley (1971); Mouer and Sugimoto (1986); Dickinson (2013); and Havens (2015).

Pringsheim at the same time. The contradiction is best crystallized in Kiyose's view that internationalism in Japan was "confusing;" as a composer of Western art music, he ultimately represented this very confusion itself.

Even if Kiyose did discuss Western harmony in antagonist terms, however, his writings were ultimately not about conflict. He explicitly stated that rather than setting the East and the West in conflict with each other, one should emphasize mutual understanding (Kiyose 1934, 44). His most confrontational accounts (particularly Kiyose 1936a and 1937) were always reactions to equally aggressive provocations attacking Japanese-style composition—which Kiyose possibly saw as criticism of his very identity. Moreover, while his views occasionally overlapped with those advocating the nationalist militarism of the time—the supremacy of traditional Japanese values was indeed underlined to foster nationalist thought and justify expansionist policies (e.g. Spizlman 2004, 88)—Kiyose denied any connection with these ideologies, beginning from his early writings. He stated explicitly that he opposed fascism and militarism, and suggested that nationalist Japanese-style composition was fundamentally superficial.¹⁴³ A reason for this is given in a postwar account, where Kiyose (1963a, 14–15) lamented that Japanese-style composition had been unjustly associated with political nationalism in the press from the very beginning.¹⁴⁴

Kiyose's views remained consistent through the 1930s: he had brought up the importance of Japanese scales and "monotonic" aesthetic already in the beginning of the 1930s (e.g. Kiyose 1930c, 14), and also discussed them at the end of the decade (e.g. Kiyose 1937, 8). His way of juxtaposing Japan and the West, as well, remained consistent. To which extent Kiyose's opposition of Western harmony intertwined with personal issues—namely, Kiyose's difficulties with learning Western music theory—is an interesting question. Kiyose (1936a, 15) concluded that while it was natural that Europeans should study Western theory, it was equally natural for Japanese composers to want to follow their own national characteristics rather than forcing themselves to adopt Western principles. Perhaps his difficulties in learning Western theory was one of the factors that eventually formed Kiyose's compositional identity, in which artistic expression and ideological viewpoints merged.

Kiyose's written output is large, but as a result of the nature of his writings they ultimately give only few hints at which qualities should be regarded as "Japanese" in his musical language. An interview of Kiyose in 1936 was particularly revealing in this aspect. When Hirata Toshio asked Kiyose what the "Japanese-like" that he so passionately asserted was, Kiyose could only answer that it was a "difficult matter" (in Hirata 1936, 55). The answer reflects the fundamentally intuitional approach that he followed instead of the "theoretical" Western view—or giving analytical thought to what he meant by

¹⁴³ For example, Kiyose (1930c, 15); (1932c, 14); (1934, 45); (1936b, 11).

¹⁴⁴ Naturally, denying does not equate with not having any sympathies for such ideologies. However, there would not have been any necessity to oppose militarism in the 1930s. Furthermore, Kiyose, unlike some of his close colleagues, did not succumb to writing militaristic songs during the war.

the Japanese culture that was so dear to him. Naturally, his idea of denying the “theoretical approach” in this context is highly debatable, as Kiyose’s musical work undeniably represents the Western tradition of composition and is therefore ultimately based on Western theory as well—even when applied in an intuitive manner.

The intuitive approach was, however, something that Kiyose apparently regarded as a Japanese way of writing music as opposed to the study of music theory. For example, Hayasaka (1942a, 62) recognizes the concept of “natural” as a fundamental quality in his work,¹⁴⁵ which connects Kiyose directly with discourse on traditional music of the time. Sunaga (1934, 115), for example, regarded the aspiration toward the natural instead of the artificial as a fundamental quality of Japanese music. Although escaping the scope of the analytical approach—as national idioms of composition tend to do—at least these ideas do underline the principles behind Kiyose’s thought on Japanese-style expression in Western art music. From this point of view, his compositional philosophy—an expression of Japanese culture in Western means—was ultimately a reflection of its own time.

4.3 Hashimoto Kunihiro: contemporary music for the people

Hashimoto Kunihiro (or Qunihico, 1904–1949)¹⁴⁶ was one of the most contradictory Japanese composers of his time.¹⁴⁷ Even though he was acknowledged as a forerunning modernist that caught the attention of Yamada with his novel approaches (see Kojima 1976, 65), he also wrote commercial popular music throughout his career. While being a founding member of the anti-academic Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei, he later became a professor at the Tokyo Academy of Music. His interest in expressing the voice of the people is apparent in his early work based on folk songs, but he also composed music promoting state nationalism during the war. Do these contradictory tendencies surface in Hashimoto’s thoughts on Japanese-style composition, and if they do, in what ways?

Hashimoto was born in Tokyo, but moved to Osaka as a child. He began to learn the violin, and also to practice composing, on his own. After graduating from high school, Hashimoto returned to Tokyo to major in violin at the Tokyo Academy of Music. He wrote his first work *You in the Mountains* (*Yama no*

¹⁴⁵ Hayasaka uses the word *shizen* (自然, nature), calling Kiyose a “person of the nature” (1942a, 62). Kiyose (1937) himself asserted the importance of naturalness as well. One cannot avoid noticing similarities between Kiyose’s and his pupil’s Takemitsu’s thought on this matter (e.g. Takemitsu 1971).

¹⁴⁶ “Qunihico” was the spelling that Hashimoto adopted for his name in the West. Until 1947, Hashimoto used an older way of writing his forename in Japanese: 國彦 instead of 国彦.

¹⁴⁷ Sections of this subchapter have previously appeared in *Musiikki* 45 (2) (Lehtonen 2015a). They are reproduced here with permission from the journal.

anata) for singer and piano in 1922. After this, he composed mostly songs and some violin pieces from 1922 to 1924, and wrote his first orchestral work *Dance of Fragrance* (*Ka no odorī*) in 1925. Although he had an opportunity to show his work to both Yamada and Nobutoki, he was virtually self-taught as a composer (Dohi 1986).

Like most composers of the time, Hashimoto was originally a follower of German Romantic-style idiom. However, he caught the attention of the music world of Japan in 1928 with a performance of the French Impressionist-style songs *Mold* (*Kabi*), *Tiger Beetle* (斑猫; *Hanmyō*) and *Woman Playing the Flute* (*Fuefuki me*), composed to the modernist poetry of Fukao Sumako (深尾須磨子, 1888–1974). Being among the first impressionist-style works by a Japanese composer, the songs were met with bewilderment. Fukai (1965, 189–190) later suggested that hearing the works opened new paths of expression to the young generation of composers. Hashimoto's works did not remain unnoticed by older composers, either. For example, Yamada later commented that Hashimoto “stirred the whole compositional world” (see Kojima 1976, 65)—a view also shared by Nobutoki (see Sano 2010, 140) and Dohi (1986, 25), who even argues that Hashimoto's works launched a new period in the history of Japanese composition.

These novel works earned Hashimoto the reputation of a modernist, which was further enhanced by songs containing atonality, such as *Dance* (*Mai*, 1929) and *Ragged Ostrich* (*Boroborona dachō*, 1933), as well as the microtonal *Study* (*Shūsaku*, 1930) for violin and cello. Along with these works, however, Hashimoto also continued to write German-style works, and from 1930 was employed as a composer and arranger of vocal music, including popular songs, at the record company Victor.¹⁴⁸ His academic background notwithstanding, he was also among the founding members of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei. Additionally, he grew a keen interest in Japanese folk music and took part in the Shin Min'yō (“new folk song”) movement.¹⁴⁹ These various aspects perhaps exemplify what has been noted by Takaku (2007, 230), that Hashimoto considered any kind of musical material as a potential influence.

Overall, the prewar years were the most prolific and versatile ones for Hashimoto, whose music and actions defied the divisions of style and status in Japanese music of the time. Throughout the 1930s, he emphasized the importance of original expression (Hashimoto Kunihiro 1934) and developing music (Hashimoto 1930f; 1937). At the same time, however, he also stressed rigorous training of harmony and technique (Hashimoto Kunihiro 1934, 30–31), and was remembered as a strict academic teacher by his pupils (Hatanaka

¹⁴⁸ For more on Hashimoto's compositions for Victor, see Saegusa (2012). His interest in both Western art music composition and popular music was shared also by his close friends, soprano Yotsuya Fumiko (四谷文子, 1906–1981) and baritone Tokuyama Tamaki (徳山璣, 1903–1942), who both studied classical singing but recorded popular songs, as well. Their most well-known collaboration is the hit song “Love Fulfilled in Heaven” (“Tengoku ni musubu koi,” 1932).

¹⁴⁹ See Chapter 2.2.

2012, 81; Fukuda 2012, 18). In 1934, Hashimoto was appointed associate professor at the Tokyo Academy of Music. At the end of the same year, he left Japan to study in Europe, where he met many composers of modern music, including those deemed “decadent” in Nazi Germany (Omura 2014, 169). He also met Arnold Schönberg in Los Angeles on his way back to Japan in 1937.¹⁵⁰

Upon Hashimoto’s return, however, the experimental and modernist quality so characteristic of his earlier work disappeared. This was most likely due to political developments: particularly after being appointed professor in 1940, Hashimoto became the official “face” of the Tokyo Academy of Music, which was at that time directed by the fierce nationalist Norisugi Yoshihisa (乗杉嘉壽, 1898–1947). Hashimoto mostly focused on conducting during the war, but also composed war songs and other nationalist works. Military songs like “Song of the Navy of the Great East Asian War” (“Daitōa sensō kaigun no uta”) and “Marching Song of Students” (“Gakuto shingun uta”) encouraged war spirit, whereas the cantata *Hymn for the Soul of a Deceased Soldier* (*Eirei sankā*, 1943) was composed to commemorate Navy Marshal Yamamoto Isoroku (山本五十六, 1884–1943), best known for planning the attack on Pearl Harbor. Not all of Hashimoto’s wartime work was nationalist, however. *La petite valse* (*Koenbukyoku*, 1944) for orchestra and the song cycle *Spring Suite* (*Haru no kumikyoku*, 1945), for example, suggest no such context.

The war ended with Japan’s surrender in August 1945. The United States began to democratize Japan, which also led to purging those who had been cooperative with the war policies from their posts (Fukunaka 2008, 59). Although not a part of the most heated discussions over composers’ war guilt, Hashimoto was made to resign his post at the Tokyo Academy of Music in 1946 (Omura 2014, 169). On the official level, though, the resignation was implied to be from Hashimoto himself, with no reference to his wartime actions (Katayama 2007, 54). After this, Hashimoto worked as a composer and wrote many works expressing the bliss of peace and democracy, such as Symphony No. 2 (1947) commemorating the new constitution, and the enormously popular hit song “Where Does the Morning Come From?” (“Asa wa doko kara,” 1946), as well as some works suggesting regret for the war years, including *Three wasans*¹⁵¹ (*Mitsu no wasan*, 1946) and *Lyrical Suite* (*Jojo kumikyoku*, 1946) (Katayama 1999, 201). Hashimoto did not live long after the war, however, and died of cancer in the spring of 1949.

Most scholars agree that Hashimoto’s career met with tragedy due to the war, since he was unable to avoid his duties as a representative of a state university and had to take responsibility for this after the war (e.g. Shibaike 1996, 243; Fukuda 2012, 16). Even so, Hashimoto’s versatile work during the

¹⁵⁰ According to Mayuzumi Toshirō, Hashimoto was the first Japanese to compose dodecaphonic music, although no proof of such work remains (see Katayama 1999, 201). Hashimoto (1937a, 35) suggested that he was to learn dodecaphonic composition from Schönberg through correspondence, but his letter to Schönberg (Hashimoto Qunihico 1937) does not make any reference to such teaching.

¹⁵¹ *Wasan* is a type of Buddhist recitative in the genre of *shōmyō*, always sung in the Japanese language.

prewar years was unparalleled in the music world of Japan (Omura 2014, 173): he defied the divisions of the time by composing in a vast spectrum of styles, and despite being an academic figure, he advocated “anti-academic” tendencies. As a professor, he was also the teacher of many next-generation composers, including Akutagawa Yasushi (芥川也寸志, 1925–1989), Dan Ikuma (團伊玖磨, 1924–2001), Mayuzumi Toshirō, and Nakada Yoshinao (中田喜直, 1923–2000).

The versatility of Hashimoto’s approaches is also reflected in his writings on music, dating from the late 1920s to his death in 1949. He wrote numerous articles about Western art music, their topics ranging from modern harmonies (Hashimoto 1930e) and Beethoven in Nazi Germany (Hashimoto 1937b) to composing in general (Hashimoto 1931b) and the importance of modern expression (Hashimoto Kunihiro 1934). Compared with Mitsukuri and Kiyose, however, Hashimoto was far more sparing about his ideas on Japanese-style composition. Many of his musical works show an interest in Japanese elements (Lehtonen 2015a), but he wrote only a little on the topic, with all of the articles dating from 1930–31. This suggests that Japanese-style composition was only one trend that Hashimoto embraced among others.

Hashimoto’s articles on Japanese-style composition hint at two prominent compositional motives. First, he was interested in renewing and developing music, and second, he had an avid interest in folk songs. As for the latter, however, his interest was not solely in traditional music, but rather in the concept of folk songs, which he wanted to redefine—leading, again, back to the motivation of renewing music. The idea is best exemplified in his articles on contemporary folk songs, dating from 1930. Hashimoto (1930a, 105) noted that to him, the initial idea of “national elements” in music had to do with the Japanese countryside and its folk song traditions. However, he saw that the adoption of pentatonic scales did not suffice as Japanese-style composition, since pentatonic melodies also occurred, for example, in Chopin’s music. Following this logic, Hashimoto defined the concept of folk songs in social terms rather than musical. He saw that one should perceive the word “folk song” literally—as “songs of the people.”¹⁵² In the same sense that traditional folk songs reflected the everyday life of those in the countryside, Hashimoto saw that urban dwellers—to whom he belonged—should also have their own “folk songs.” This is how he came up with the concept of “folk songs for urban people” (Hashimoto 1930a).¹⁵³

By folk songs for urban people, Hashimoto referred to contemporary popular music, which he associated with the urban way of life (Hashimoto 1930b, 36). Since urban and cosmopolitan metropolises like Tokyo had been affected by foreign influence, Hashimoto (*ibid.*, 40) saw that it would be only natural that their “folk songs” would also mirror similar tendencies. To stress

¹⁵² The Japanese word for folk songs, *min’yō* (民謡, “folk songs”) is a literal translation of the German word *Volkslied*.

¹⁵³ In Japanese, *shimin no tame no min’yō*.

why “folk songs” in contemporary Japan need not be necessarily musically related to traditional folk music, Hashimoto remarked that the *shamisen*—although considered a Japanese instrument—was not originally Japanese at all (ibid.).¹⁵⁴ As an instrument considered Japanese had been introduced to Japan only some centuries earlier, Hashimoto reasoned that it would be equally justified to write music in Western idioms and still regard them as “folk songs.” As an example of a particularly successful song in this aspect, Hashimoto (ibid., 39) gave “Tokyo March” (“Tōkyō kōshinkyoku,” 1929)—one of the earliest smash hits of Japanese popular music, and a song famous for becoming the “theme song” for the newly-built Tokyo by referring to its urban phenomena (e.g. Azami 2004, 105). For Hashimoto, the lyrics of no other song had captured the spirit of modern Japan so successfully.¹⁵⁵

Hashimoto’s writings on folk songs were not about “national elements” as musical influences—they were rather about developing music. Hashimoto (1930b, 41) argued that rather than clinging to the long history of folk songs and imitating them as such, one should renew music in line with social changes. Along this developing aspect, however, Hashimoto’s enthusiasm in folk songs suggested a motivation of composing for “the people” rather than following any particular musical tradition or school; Hashimoto (1930f, 13) even mentioned this explicitly in one writing by stating that he wanted to follow the spirit of people. Hashimoto’s idea of using the word *min’yō* for popular songs was not entirely new, as some had already referred to popular songs—including those clearly modern in style—with the word before (e.g. Iba 1929, 4). It does, however, reflect social changes in Japan of the time—particularly the status of traditional Japanese culture compared with Western one. In this aspect, Hashimoto’s thinking was the opposite of Kiyose’s: whereas Kiyose emphasized his position as a composer of the countryside, Hashimoto identified with the urbanite.

But based on his writings, how did these ideas fit Hashimoto’s *musically* Japanese-style work—those compositions adopting elements from traditional Japanese music? That is, if we do suppose that composing for the people was Hashimoto’s aim, then, obviously, there should also be hints of this in discussion about his musical work. And indeed, there are. While I will examine Hashimoto’s works in more detail in the next chapter, there are also writings in which he discusses Japanese-style composition as a compositional technique, and in which there is also a connection with the music traditions “of the people.” Understanding this requires recognizing Hashimoto’s other main goal—that of renewing musical expression.

¹⁵⁴ The *shamisen* is based on the Okinawan instrument *sanshin*, originally based on the Chinese *sanxin*. It was introduced to the Japanese mainland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Flavin 2008, 173).

¹⁵⁵ Hashimoto himself also wrote many song compositions to the lyrics of Saijō Yaso (八十西条, 1892–1970), who was the lyricist of “Tokyo March.” These included, among others, “Sweets and Girls” (“Okashi to musume,” 1928), “Snow in Paris” (“Pari no yuki,” 1925), and “Wagon” (“Horobasha,” 1931). “Tokyo March” was composed by Nakayama Shinpei, well-known for *shin min’yō* and children’s songs.

A work most suited to exemplify both of these tendencies is *Study* (*Shūsaku*, 1930) for violin and cello.¹⁵⁶ As a microtonal music, *Study* was very peculiar at its time, and required Hashimoto (1930c, 84) to explain what quartertones were and how they should be employed. Yet, although being based on a modernist European technique, the primary influence of *Study* was folk music. According to Hashimoto (1930d, 7), he initially came to adopt Hába's microtonality as an influence from Japanese folk songs after finding Western chromaticism inadequate to evoke the subtle nuances of folk songs. He remarked that although it was being treated as a modern compositional technique, microtonality and quartertones were, in reality, not new inventions at all, but had been applied in Japanese folk songs for ages (*ibid.*).¹⁵⁷ Not surprisingly, *Study* was a controversial work in its time. For example, Matsubara (1930, 113–114) responded with an essay stating that he saw no future for Hashimoto's strange approach.¹⁵⁸ Hashimoto himself (1930d, 10), however, saw that applying quartertones was a method of “awakening” folk songs, and that Japanese composers should adopt quartertones in their work.¹⁵⁹

Naturally, we do not have to take Hashimoto's statement of quartertones as an influence from folk songs at face value; that he came up with the technique may have followed the opposite course. Nevertheless, Hashimoto's writings on *Study* are among the earliest examples of recognizing a common ground between Japanese elements and the modern techniques of Western art music. Another approach connecting modern expression with influences from popular traditions is an article which Hashimoto wrote after having transcribed the *nagauta shinkyoku*¹⁶⁰ work *Dawn* (*Akebono*) for Western orchestra (Hashimoto 1931a). In the article, Hashimoto described the process of writing music using both classical Western harmony and “modern” harmony, which he further divided into “Japanese” and “Western” harmonies (*ibid.*, 46). Hashimoto explained that to him, “modern harmony” corresponded not only to harmonic experiments by contemporary composers of Western-style music, but also to quartal harmonies based on traditional music—an influence that he had already previously associated with Schönberg (Hashimoto 1930e). As a musical element, then, “Japanese harmony”

¹⁵⁶ *Study* is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.3. The English title Hashimoto himself gave to the work was *Etude No. 1*. Despite the number, *Study* was the only composition of this type by Hashimoto.

¹⁵⁷ Note how this resembles Kiyose's discussion on Japanese elements as being new to foreigners but not so for the Japanese.

¹⁵⁸ Similar commentary took place with Itō Noboru's microtonal and other avant-garde work in the 1930s (Akiyama 1975b, 60–61).

¹⁵⁹ In a later account, however, Hashimoto (1937a, 35) made the more lamenting remark that Japanese composers could apply quartertones and dodecaphony only as “pedantic dogmas.” What he most likely meant was that Japanese composers were not yet ready to adopt these techniques in an innovative manner.

¹⁶⁰ *Nagauta* is one of the musical genres in *kabuki*, a form of popular theater. *Shinkyoku* means “new composition,” as opposed to *nagauta* pieces of the established *kabuki* repertoire. Most likely, a *nagauta shinkyoku* was similar to the approach of Shin Nihon Ongaku.

occupied a place as modern harmony. Hashimoto also indicated a fascination with traditional music, by noting that he was looking forward to writing an altogether new music for the *shamisen* himself (Hashimoto 1931a, 47). This, however, did not happen.

The writings on *Study* and *Dawn* are the only examples of Hashimoto discussing Japanese-style expression directly. It is obvious that unlike Mitsukuri and Kiyose, he was not on a search for the creation of a Japanese *idiom* of composition. For example, while commenting that a period of imitation had prevailed in Japan for too long a time (Hashimoto Kunihiro 1934, 29) and that the Japanese should acquire a spirit seeking original expression (ibid., 31), Hashimoto did not even mention the adoption of elements from traditional music, but rather emphasized individual creativity—based on a good command of technique—as the path to originality. In this aspect, his view resembled Western Romantic composers, and rather than seeking to construct a Japanese idiom, the “Japanese” represented contemporary Japan with its different, even contradictory notions of tradition and modernity.

In this context, Hashimoto’s views also communicate issues of their time. For example, they reflect Yanagita’s (1929) remark that in the process of modernization, Japan had “exchanged” the countryside for the cities. But instead of lamenting such developments, Hashimoto—unlike Kiyose—embraced them. This is evident in his enthusiastic views about commercial popular songs in Western idioms becoming modern Japanese “folk songs” for the urbanite. For him, this idea also filled the need for music to be modern and reflect changes in the society. It also exemplifies how the composers of the time used different terms for phenomena such as “Japanese-style music” or “modern expression.” The contradiction between the traditional and the modern took place not only in the society in general, but emerged even inside a composer group with a shared goal.

4.4 Matsudaira Yoritsune: locating Japan musically

While most of the founding members of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei were at the peak of their compositional careers in the 1930s, there was one exception to this rule.¹⁶¹ To be more precise, Matsudaira Yoritsune (1907–2001) became one of the most internationally acclaimed Japanese composers after the war. In many of his postwar works, he fused dodecaphony, polytonality, and other modern compositional techniques with elements from traditional Japanese music. He began to receive notable international attention beginning with *Theme and Variations for Piano and Orchestra* (1951),¹⁶² and although

¹⁶¹ This remark applies, however, to their compositional careers, not other activities. Saitō Hideo, for example, became an acclaimed conductor after the war.

¹⁶² The theme is based on the *gagaku* piece *Etenraku* in *banshiki* key. After this, Matsudaira composed several other works based on *gagaku*, including *U-mai* (Dance of

Matsudaira (1963, 124) later criticized the work, it was particularly liked by Herbert von Karajan. Matsudaira was also a frequent visitor in Darmstadt, and his works were performed in gatherings of the ISCM; *Contemporary Music Review* even dedicated issue 4/1998 to him. He is also known as the father of composer Matsudaira Yoriaki (松平頼暁, b. 1931).

Matsudaira's role as an international Japanese composer was surrounded by some contradictions, however. To some extent, his success was limited to the West. Even Matsudaira himself commented that he was never able to make a true foothold in Japan despite his success in the West (in Herd 1987, 165–167).¹⁶³ However, at the same time, Takemitsu (1989, 203) referred to Japanese-style composers of his generation as Matsudaira's musical “children or grandchildren.” This comment hardly acknowledges Matsudaira as being not well-known in Japan; rather, it portrays him as a forerunner of Japanese-style composition, someone who paved the way to new styles of expression and ideas. But this, again, is a contradiction: Matsudaira is almost solely known for his postwar work. Even the composer himself remarked that he did not consider his prewar work to be of high quality (Matsudaira 1954a, 13), and when discussing his work on another occasion, Matsudaira (1963, 124) skipped his prewar and early postwar compositions altogether. Comments such as this may have resulted in most discussion on Matsudaira focusing on his postwar music; this began already with writings by Terazaki (1959) and Yashima (1959). This chapter, however, is my attempt at providing a perspective on Matsudaira's prewar work and motives.

Matsudaira was of very noble origin.¹⁶⁴ He started to play the piano at an early age, but did not originally intend to become a musician. In 1923, he began to study French literature at the prestigious Keio University, but after hearing Henri Gil-Marchex's performance in Tokyo in 1925, Matsudaira decided to become a musician (Matsudaira 1969a, 30). He studied the piano with Charles Lautrup and harmony with Heinrich Werkmeister, and was in contact with Japanese composers of the time through *Ongaku shinchō*—the journal which also published most of Kiyose's writings (e.g. Hosokawa and Katayama 2008, 621). He made his debut as a composer in 1928 with a piano piece published in *Ongaku shinchō*,¹⁶⁵ and wrote poetic articles suggesting an interest in most modern trends of the time (e.g. Matsudaira 1929; 1930a; 1930b). When studying composition with Komatsu Kōsuke, Matsudaira met Kiyose and the other two Komatsu brothers, all of whom shared an interest in French music and Japanese-style composition (Matsudaira 1954a, 11) and were to become

the Right, 1957) and *Sa-mai* (Dance of the Left, 1958), and *Bugaku* for chamber orchestra (1962).

¹⁶³ Hosokawa and Katayama (2008) have noted that many of Matsudaira's works had their premieres in the West and have not been performed in Japan at all.

¹⁶⁴ The Matsudaira clan was a direct descendant of the Tokugawa clan that ruled Japan during the Edo period. Matsudaira's mother was a descendant of the Fujiwara family, who held a significant role in the imperial court of Heian-period Japan (794–1192).

¹⁶⁵ The work was *Lullaby* (*Komoriuta*), the first piece in the collection *Memories of My Childhood* (*Yōnen jidai no omoide*, 1928–1930).

founding members of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei. Matsudaira's works were performed already in the earliest gatherings of the society.¹⁶⁶

In 1931, Matsudaira quit the university to concentrate on the piano, and gave his first recital focusing on French music. Upon Tansman's visit to Japan in 1933, Matsudaira apparently still intended to become a pianist (see Akiyama 2003, 288), but this changed in the mid-1930s. According to Togashi (1956, 282), Matsudaira decided to become a composer because he had lost faith in his ability to "move his fingers fast enough." It seems likely to me, however, that Matsudaira's decision also had to do with his success as a composer from the mid-1930s onward. *Pastorale* (1935) for orchestra received the second prize in the Tcherepnin Competition and was published in the Tcherepnin Edition, which also led to international performances.¹⁶⁷ This was the start of a series of triumphs. Matsudaira's *Prelude in D* for piano (1934) was published in the Tcherepnin Edition, and *Sonatine for Flute and Piano* (1936) was performed and broadcasted in fourteen European cities (e.g. Hiramoto 2004, 4). *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1* (*Nanbu min'yōshū 1*, 1928–1936) received the Weingartner prize in 1937, and *Theme and Variations on Nanbu Lullaby for Piano and Orchestra* (1939) was included in *kokuminshikyoku* (see Chapter 2.3).

These promising developments were disturbed by the war, however. Matsudaira stated on many occasions that he "was not able to compose" during the war at all (e.g. Matsudaira 1954a, 12; 1969a, 32; in Herd 1987, 148). After the war, he did not join the re-founded Japan Society for Contemporary Music, but instead participated in the founding of another composer group, the Society for New Wave Composition (Shin sakkyokuha kyōkai), with Kiyose and Hayasaka among others.¹⁶⁸ Matsudaira's promising international success before the war reached its full bloom in the postwar period, when he developed an original style. He became an influential and internationally acclaimed composer known for his ideas on fusing elements of traditional Japanese music with contemporary Western techniques.¹⁶⁹

Matsudaira's prewar works demonstrate an interest in Japanese-style composition, but he wrote practically nothing on the topic before the war. He

¹⁶⁶ However, while being one of the founding members of the group, Matsudaira was dissatisfied with how the society eventually represented "too many" different styles (see Akiyama 2003, 284).

¹⁶⁷ The first prize went to Ifukube Akira's *Japanese Rhapsody* (*Nihon kōshikyoku*, 1935), which is one of the most well-known and performed Japanese orchestral works of the 1930s today. The jury for the competition included internationally well-known figures such as Jacques Ibert, Arthur Honegger, and Albert Roussel (Akiyama 2003, 292).

¹⁶⁸ Taking into account that Matsudaira was apparently dissatisfied with the diverse approaches represented in Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei (in Akiyama 2003, 283–284), it might be that the Society for New Wave Composition was the kind of group that he had originally hoped to find. As Katayama (2007, 106) has noted, other founders included Japanese-style composers with no academic background. Kiyose later invited the young Takemitsu to this group as well, possibly explaining why Takemitsu was familiar with Matsudaira's work.

¹⁶⁹ For more on Matsudaira in the postwar period, see Galliano (2002, 137–144) and the issue of *Contemporary Music Review* (4/1998) dedicated to Matsudaira.

did write many articles in a modernist manner in *Ongaku shinchō* (e.g. Matsudaira 1929; 1930a; 1930b);¹⁷⁰ however, these writings do not discuss Japanese-style composition, but rather focus on modern expression. Matsudaira explicitly stated his interest in Japanese-style composition only in the postwar period, when recollecting his early steps as a composer (e.g. Matsudaira 1954a; 1963; 1969a; 1992), and noted that he had given fundamental thought to it (in Akiyama 2003, 293). His artistic work does not give any reason to contradict this statement. However, undoubtedly affected by the shift of cultural mood and changes in the Japanese society after the war, these postwar writings and interviews—although revealing his compositional ideas and influences—present only a limited view of Matsudaira’s prewar thought.

In his writings, Matsudaira constantly brought up two influences in his prewar work: French music and Japanese-style composition.¹⁷¹ While “French music” itself is a broad concept, Matsudaira (1954a, 9; 1969a, 30–31; 1992, 129–131) frequently mentioned Debussy, Ravel, and Les Six as his influences. Matsudaira was largely thought of as a “French-style composer” in the 1930s, and his interest in French music was also exemplified in the programs of his piano recitals, consisting mostly of French works (Hiramoto 2004, 4). “Japanese-style composition” is naturally a similarly broad concept, but Matsudaira (1954a, 11) noted that *gagaku* and folk songs were particularly important source materials for him in the prewar period. This is also evident in the titles of many of his works.

French and Japanese expression were, however, not only two separate influences for Matsudaira. Like Kiyose, he saw notable similarity in the aesthetics of French and Japanese music, and discussed the importance of both French and Japanese expression with Kiyose and the Komatsu brothers.¹⁷² It was apparently this interest in French music that also connected Mitsukuri and Matsudaira (Matsudaira 1954a, 11). Another important influence was Tansman’s visit in 1933 (Hiramoto 2004, 5–6).¹⁷³ In his postwar writings, Matsudaira was, in general, concerned about synthesizing contemporary Western expression with traditional Japanese music (Matsudaira 1954a, 9; 1963). For example, he stated (Matsudaira 1948, 41) that even in spite of their differences, a link between the musical traditions might be found through a connection on the Asian mainland, and noted—albeit only at a later stage—that there are even certain surprising concrete similarities, such as the *gagaku* form *oibuki*, which resembles Western canon (Matsudaira 1992, 139).

¹⁷⁰ They have been discussed in somewhat more detail by Shiina (1996; 1998, 18–20).

¹⁷¹ Later, Matsudaira also emphasized the importance of neoclassical composition, which was introduced to him by Tcherepnin.

¹⁷² Matsudaira (1954a, 9); (1992, 139); (1995); in Akiyama (2003, 283).

¹⁷³ Tansman was obviously an important influence for Matsudaira, who referred to him in many of his writings (e.g. Matsudaira 1954a; 1969a). He also later wrote a long account on Tansman (Matsudaira 1954b).

Shiina (1996; 1998) has discussed this idea of fusing contemporary expression and tradition as a “contradiction.” However, as has been discussed above with other composers, it should not be regarded as a contradiction at all, but rather a very natural phenomenon. Particularly in a purely artistic sphere, many characteristics of traditional music were novel in the context of Western art music. However, based on these postwar writings, it is difficult to conclude to which degree these ideas apply to Matsudaira’s prewar thought. It seems likely that he did acknowledge some of them already in the prewar period, but for example the comparison of the idea of “non-music” in contemporary music and traditional Japanese music (Matsudaira 1992, 139) seems an idea of the postwar period.

Compared with the composers discussed above, Matsudaira’s writings are far more concerned with Japanese elements as artistic expression, without ideological connotations. For example, while frequently adopting elements from two musical genres of very different social standings—court music *gagaku* and folk songs—Matsudaira discussed them solely as “materials”¹⁷⁴ at his disposal rather than elements holding further cultural or social meaning (e.g. Matsudaira 1948, 41; 1954a, 10). He lamented that since he had no experience of the social context of folk songs, his works were probably not able to catch the “spirit” of the original songs and were not successful for that reason (ibid.).¹⁷⁵ However, even here, Matsudaira was mainly concerned about *artistic* success rather than communicating a way of life. Furthermore, he did not have any firsthand experience of *gagaku* before the war, either, but had encountered it only as transcriptions for Western notation; he was only able to hear a performance of *gagaku* after the war (see Galliano 2002, 84). This suggests that he did not really aim at evoking the mood of the traditional genres, but saw them only as tools for his personal expression—something that Matsudaira (1969a, 32) later noted explicitly. These ideas are further confirmed in that Matsudaira (1954a, 11) commented that whatever technique or inspiration he used, the “spirit” of his works remained ultimately the same.¹⁷⁶ And while Matsudaira stated that composers should reflect their time and the changes in society (ibid.), he later (1963, 124) suggested that this “reflection” referred primarily to musical style. That is, according to Matsudaira, modern music should always be composed in the most contemporary techniques available.

All of the examples above suggest that Matsudaira was, above all, interested in pursuing modern and original artistic expression. This idea is also exemplified in his attitude towards French Impressionism. When it was a new musical language in the late-nineteenth-century France, it represented a

¹⁷⁴ The word Matsudaira used in Japanese was *sozai*.

¹⁷⁵ Note how this resembles Bartók’s views (see Chapter 3.2).

¹⁷⁶ As examples of different techniques or influences, Matsudaira (1954a, 11) mentioned *gagaku*, folk songs, and dodecaphony. Note how similar this idea is with Moroi Saburō’s and his pupil’s Irino Yoshirō’s idea of expression and technique being separable from each other, mentioned briefly in Chapter 3.4

radical and avant-gardist approach (Jarocinski 1981, 13). Because of this, Matsudaira was originally a follower of French Impressionist-style composition, but when he heard from Tcherepnin that it was already an old musical language, he decided to turn to a newer one, that of neoclassicism, instead (Matsudaira 1954a, 12).

In this context, the Japanese elements in Matsudaira's work also appear as a tool for exploring artistic originality. Still, this leaves an important question open: why would Matsudaira have been so interested in Japanese-style expression from the very beginning, if Japanese music was valued only as mere musical material? That is, even though he discussed elements from traditional music as a tool to acquire a certain kind of expression, Matsudaira also brought up his interest in Japanese-style composition numerous times—suggesting that it was not only one “tool” among others, but held a further importance for him. Instead of using materials from any other music culture, Japanese music was the only one he utilized, the only that he explicitly stated having interest in, and the only whose importance he reminisced having discussed with Kiyose already at the late 1920s. Matsudaira even later criticized those Japanese composers who became interested in Japanese-style expression only after interaction with Western composers (in Akiyama 2003, 293). He was by no means a nationalist, either—he sympathized with leftist movements (Terazaki 1959, 101) and did not partake in nationalist composition during the war. And still, Japanese-style composition was important to him. Why would this be?

While this idea remains speculative, I find it likely that the importance of Japanese elements for Matsudaira lay in his personal compositional philosophy, as discussed above, rather than the elements themselves: the idea that musical expression should reflect its time and place. By this logic, a Japanese composer should compose in the most contemporary style (reflecting their time) and introduce recognizably Japanese qualities (reflecting their locality). This requirement was almost explicitly suggested by Matsudaira himself. He commented (Matsudaira 1948, 41) that when classical harmony had come to its end and modernism began, each composer embarked on their journeys to pursue their own expression, and that each composer's *place of being* influenced their approaches. This is why, according to Matsudaira, Bartók was interested in Hungarian folk songs, and Tansman in Polish music. In this context, it seems natural that Japanese composers should write Japanese-style music.¹⁷⁷

This idea puts more emphasis on the importance of the *time and place of origin* of a composer as a general concept, rather than *Japanese-style expression* as a concept that Matsudaira would nurture. For Matsudaira—as a Japanese composer—his concrete form of expression would inevitably

¹⁷⁷ I express this idea under the premise that Matsudaira's thought did not change over the decades. His writings and musical works suggest so, since Matsudaira indicated interest in Japanese-style composition and modern expression from the very beginning to the very end of his long career. Therefore, it seems likely that the importance of music as a reflection of time and place could have also remained the same.

materialize as “Japanese,” but what was more important is the *idea* of a composer reflecting their time and place through their musical work. In this context, that Matsudaira’s works contained elements from traditional Japanese music but were composed according to contemporary Western idioms seems, ultimately, to be the result of this approach. This was also a view shared by French modernists, whom Matsudaira admired; for example, Cocteau (1921, 19) asserted that the French should compose in a French idiom. I find it revealing, however, that allusions to traditional music were those that Matsudaira regarded as the expression of place—even when integrating them into contemporary European idioms. Both Kiyose and Hashimoto, although also adopting traditional elements as contemporary expression, recognized that they represented “the past”—a critical argument constantly used by those opposing Japanese-style composition. Matsudaira’s thought was, in fact, close to his Western counterparts interested in utilizing materials of “traditional” cultures. In this context, Matsudaira, indeed, encountered the dilemma of still following the “advanced West” that vexed Japanese composers of the time (Akiyama 1979, 11).

4.5 Other composers’ discussion—and lack of it

Many composers of *Shinkō sakkyōkuka renmei* addressed Japanese elements more through their music than in writing. Hashimoto and Matsudaira are fitting examples of this, with their limited literal outputs on the topic, but even less was written by composers such as Komatsu Heigorō, Komatsu Kiyoshi, Sugawara Meirō, and Yamamoto Naotada, even though all of them composed at least some works adopting Japanese elements. For example, Yamamoto, who was primarily interested in new theoretical approaches, did not even mention Japanese-style harmony in his articles on modern harmonies (Yamamoto 1930a–d; 1931; 1934). Komatsu Kiyoshi and Komatsu Heigorō did not write on the topic either, despite composing many *shin min’yō* songs.

Sugawara Meirō is an even more complicated case. While he wrote actively on Western music,¹⁷⁸ he claimed to have no interest in Japanese-style composition, and that if such influences surfaced in his work, they were merely an unintended result of his examination of traditional music (see Togashi 1956, 182). In another writing, he argued that no such thing as “Japanese sound” exists, since most Japanese music originated from the Asian mainland (Sugawara 1941, 34–35). However, at the same time, he was among the first to write music combining Japanese and Western instruments (Akiyama 1988a, 105). For example, Sugawara wrote a concerto for *koto*, *shakuhachi*, and Western orchestra with Hisamoto Genchi in the style of Shin Nihon Ongaku

¹⁷⁸ The topics of Sugawara’s articles ranged from Haydn (Sugawara 1932a) to Debussy (Sugawara 1932b) and Wagner (Sugawara 1933).

in 1933.¹⁷⁹ This seems far more than an “unintended result” of an examination of traditional music. Later, however, Sugawara admitted that his works included some elements from traditional music (in Akiyama 1974a, 75). Based on this, it seems to me that Sugawara did not wish to be identified as a Japanese-style composer.¹⁸⁰ Partly because of this, he was respected even among those who otherwise criticized the national school, including his pupils Fukai Shirō and Yoshida Takako (吉田隆子, 1910–1956) (see Akiyama 1979, 22; *Nihon kindai ongakukan* 1999, 32).

The uncompromised modernist Itō Noboru, on the other hand, represented a different viewpoint. He did believe that Japanese music should reflect contemporary Japan, and was skeptical whether this was even possible through the adoption of Western music theory. Like Hashimoto, Itō (1933) associated the use of microintervals with folk songs. However, he wanted to avoid following any tradition and previous practices (Itō 1936), including traditional Japanese music as well. This makes Itō’s approach different from those of the national school.

In addition to the composers suggesting at least some degree of interest in Japanese-style composition, some founding members of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei never wrote anything on the topic, nor composed works adopting Japanese elements. It is equally important to remember that not all of the founders were composers in the first place. The well-known conductor and cellist Saitō Hideo, for example, did write some works in the early 1930s (Akiyama 2003, 281), but little is known of them; his biography (Minshu ongaku kyōkai ed. 1985) does not even mention his compositional output. The pianist Oida Kōkichi was mostly involved in pedagogy, and wrote books about the piano and about acquiring perfect pitch. Pianist Kondō Hakujiro—who passed away at the age of only 33—was absorbed in other endeavors, and Shioiri Kamesuke was a critic and writer, but not a composer. Those members who did not hint at an interest in Japanese-style composition in their writings or music are not discussed any further.

4.6 Conclusions

In all its diversity, the thought of the founding composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei provides interesting, even contradictory views of Japanese-style composition. The goal of promoting contemporary expression notwithstanding, the composers did not have a shared view on Japanese elements. Mitsukuri and Kiyose—in spite of their different approaches in analytical aspects—both presented a discourse of Japanese identity through

¹⁷⁹ More precisely, Hisamoto wrote the themes for the *shakuhachi* and the *koto*, and Sugawara combined them with an orchestra and wrote them in a concerto form (Akiyama 1974a, 75).

¹⁸⁰ Sugawara was, however, discussed as a “Japanese-style” composer in the prewar period by Hara Tarō, for example (see Akiyama 2003, 534–535).

discussion on music, whereas Hashimoto and Matsudaira were more concerned with the essence of musical works as reflections of their time and place, thus leading to contemporary expression with Japanese elements. The individual perspectives of other composers differ from each other considerably, and some remained altogether indifferent.

It is easy to see that Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was a versatile group with different approaches—even to the degree that Matsudaira criticized the society of being too “unfocused” (in Akiyama 2003, 284). However, regardless of whether the composers were in pursuit of a Japanese idiom of composition, like Mitsukuri and Kiyose, or adopted Japanese elements for other goals, like Hashimoto, Matsudaira, and possibly other composers, all of them were ultimately connected by their attempt to introduce new qualities to Western art music. Both Mitsukuri and Hashimoto emphasized the need for developing and renewing music, instead of relying on past materials; for Kiyose, “the culture of the past” was a modern expression; and for Matsudaira, contemporary music had to reflect the contemporary world, and should therefore always represent new styles, although ironically it was traditional Japanese music that Matsudaira regarded as a suitable expression of place.

Curtis (2008, 41) has noted how it was the aim of many nineteenth-century national composers in Europe to partake in the building of a nation, or “nationalizing” the public. Discussion by composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei, however, lacks this idea altogether. They mostly published in music journals and were concerned about Japanese musical expression, but they did not, in any account, emphasize their roles as “national composers,” or recognize themselves as participating in nation-building through music. This applies even to Mitsukuri and Kiyose, who both regarded Japanese-style expression as a question of identity, and Hashimoto, who was interested in communicating the everyday life of contemporary Japanese people in music.

Still, even when not voiced explicitly and presented as “purely artistic” expression, the interest in Japanese-style composition was not limited to solely musical aspects. Rather, in the case of each composer, it stemmed from the larger social and cultural context of the time, indeed signifying a “complex,” as put by Kiyose (1972a, 152). With the rise of ultranationalism in the 1930s, it would be all too tempting to view Japanese elements in music simply as a musical representation of that phenomenon. However, neither the writings nor actions of the composers I have discussed here indicate any interest in far-right nationalism. For example, the implications of Mitsukuri’s Japanese harmony as an expression of Japanese identity are faint indeed, and he exhibited even less interest in ideologically motivated viewpoints. While ideological undertones are more evident in Kiyose’s writings, he openly opposed militarism. Hashimoto’s early writings on folk songs, and his inspiration in composing for the people, connect with leftist thinkers of the time; for example, Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke (平林初之輔, 1892–1931), who emphasized the independence of the people (e.g. Hirabayashi 1975, 18) rather than state nationalism. Matsudaira was interested in Japanese-style

composition and was known for being sympathetic toward proletarians (Terazaki 1959, 101). Rather than expressing political nationalism, writings by the composers suggest attachment to contemporary discourses between the modern and the traditional.

Naturally, it is hasty to draw any definite conclusions on their musical works based on their discussion. Still, one more specific aspect of their writings in the context of Japanese-style composition is puzzling: the absence of any discussion of national composers in Europe. The only exceptions are a brief reference to Bartók by Kiyose (1934, 46) and Mitsukuri's mention of "national" being a quality in the work of every great composer, and his way of regarding the Russian national school as a potential example for creating Japanese harmony. Both Bartók and the Russian national school are relevant comparisons, as Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei had much in common with them. Similarities with the Mighty Handful in Russia in various aspects are obvious, including the lack of academic background, the interest in progressive composers in Europe, and the adoption of elements from traditional music (see, e.g., Taruskin 1997). The parallels between prewar Japan and mid-nineteenth century Russia in both social and musical aspects was noted also by Tcherepnin, who believed that Japan was to follow a path similar with Russia, and that composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei were correct in this approach (as Cherepunin 1936, 4).¹⁸¹

Bartók would seem an equally likely influence, particularly to Mitsukuri (approaches to harmony and tonal systems) and Hashimoto (microtonality and folk songs). Lack of knowledge seems an unlikely reason for the lack of discussion. It was already in 1927 when Hirai (1927, 16) commented that Bartók was a name "one constantly encounters in Japan." Writings on Bartók (e.g. Hattori 1932, 10–13; Gurei 1930, 217–232) and by Bartók himself (Bera 1929) were available already in the early 1930s. Kiyose (1952, 37) later commented that he had first heard Bartók in the early 1930s, and Gil-Marchex performed Bartók already in his 1925 recital (Matsudaira 1969a, 30).

What this lack of discussion on European national music reflects is, above all, the Japanese composers' way of positioning themselves in the history of Western art music. They did not believe that they were representing the phenomenon of national-style composition taking place in Europe, but were instead following their own course. This view was not that uncommon in Japan of the time; Japan took its own path in modernism, incorporating several aspects of Western modernism, but also creating its own approach (Moroi 1942, 22; Watanabe 2002; Tipton 2002; Silverberg 2006). This resulted in the emergence of a type of "Japanese neoclassicism" (Maekawa 1946) and "traditionalist modernism" (Starrs 2012, 31; Johnson 2012) in the arts, as well. The composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei were a part in this development

¹⁸¹ This idea was reflected in the works that Tcherepnin chose for publication as well, as practically all of them represented Japanese-style composition (Hattori 2013).

that sought to distance themselves from classical European approaches and present influences from traditional music as contemporary expression.

In this context, we could even generalize Hayasaka's (1942b, 47) view of Kiyose as a "Japanese neoclassicist" to all of these composers: their methods of borrowing material from the past but creating new elements from it is, in a way, the equivalent of neoclassicism in Europe rather than national-style composition.¹⁸² Ironically, the emergence of the national school of composition in Japan not only reflected discourses in Japanese society; it also signaled that Western culture had already taken root to the degree that young composers could challenge the tradition and approach it critically instead of simply adopting and following it. Perhaps this was the very essence of what has been called a "modern rhapsody" by Watanabe (2002) and "march from the age of imitation to the age of creation" by Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei.

¹⁸² Neoclassicism does not refer to any particular musical idiom here, but to an artistic philosophy of incorporating elements of past trends to create something new.

5 Japanese-style composition in the work of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei

This chapter discusses the musical works by the founding composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei. My focus is both on the methods of adopting Japanese elements and motivations for doing so, thus merging the approach introduced in Chapter 3.4 and the ideas discussed in Chapter 4. As we will see, many of the observations regarding the musical work of the composers made in Chapter 4 would not be so obvious without an in-depth examination. In this respect, the analysis in the previous chapter not only affects the interpretations but also, to a certain extent, guides them; this is the core of the composer-centric approach of this study.

While the 1930s is the period of interest for this study, I discuss also some works of the late 1920s and early 1940s briefly when this is significant, considering the style of the composer. The research presented in this chapter has involved examining nearly all published and unpublished scores of the discussed composers located at the two archives that were the most important for this study: the Archives of Modern Japanese Music of Meiji Gakuin University, and the National Diet Library of Japan. The former contains more primary materials on the composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei than any other archive in Japan—including unpublished scores—and has thus been a particularly significant source. The latter offers access to a number of published scores.

There is no canonization of prewar Japanese works, and this study is by no means an attempt to construct one. After examination and preliminary analysis of musical scores at the two aforementioned archives, the works I have chosen for more detailed analysis and discussion here are examples particularly representative of certain recurrent and prominent qualities in the composers' works, but also those that were—for reasons such as compositional context or received awards—significant during their own time. Remarks about other similar works are also made in the footnotes. The analysis focuses on the four composers discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, but Chapter 5.5 includes viewpoints by other composers as well. My analysis aims at offering an outlook on Japanese-style composition and the aspects that it communicates and conveys—regardless of whether they are social or artistic.

5.1 Mitsukuri Shūkichi: Japanese harmony—and beyond

Mitsukuri's Japanese-style work can be roughly classified in two main categories: those adopting his harmony theory and those not. Mitsukuri himself (1948, 130) stated that he adopted his harmony ultimately in only

three works: *Collection of Bashō's Travels* (*Bashō kikōshū* 1930–1931; hereafter *Bashō's Travels*) for singer and piano, *Sarabanda alla giapponese* (the third movement of *Sinfonietta in D* for orchestra, 1934) and *Fallen Leaves* (*Ochiba*, 1936) for singer and piano. After discussing these three works and Mitsukuri's Japanese harmony in use, this chapter also introduces Mitsukuri's other Japanese-style works and compares them with those adopting the harmony.

5.1.1 *Bashō's Travels*

Bashō's Travels was the first work in which Mitsukuri adopted his harmony, and as such was also an experiment for him. It was written between October 1930 and June 1931, and consists of ten songs composed to *haiku* poems by Matsuo Bashō (松尾芭蕉, 1644–1694), one of the most well-known Japanese poets. Mitsukuri's songs follow the overall miniature nature of Bashō's poems, but the length of individual songs varies remarkably, from only seven measures of music (song no. 7) to 23 (song no. 10). The ten songs can be classified into three subgroups based on their use of harmony:

Type A: Clear-cut keys and modulations: songs 1, 2, and 10. These songs contain stable harmonies; when modulations occur, the new key is easy to recognize.

Type B: Rather clear-cut keys and modulations, but containing dissonances or ambiguous adoption of keys: songs 3, 4, 7, 8, and 9.

Type C: Unstable harmonies and polytonality: songs 5 and 6.

Based on this classification, the use of harmony follows a linear development from A to C and back. However, the songs are not organized in chronological order. Doing so reveals a different development: 1 (A), 2 (A), 7 (B), 3 (B), 4 (B), 6 (C), 8 (B), 5 (C), 9 (B), and 10 (A). There was a four-month break between songs no. 4 (composed in December 1930) and no. 6 (composed in April 1931), suggesting a development where Mitsukuri first experimented with the very basics of his theory, then moved on to applied practices, and finally experimented with original approaches before composing the last song in the very basic form.

With their clear-cut approaches, songs 1 and 2 offer the perfect opportunity to observe Mitsukuri's use of harmony in its most pedantic form. The first song, *Nozarashi*,¹⁸³ is in negative A—that is, a key based on a descending series of fifths from A (see Chapter 4.1 and example 4.1)—and does not contain any modulations. More complex aspects are met in song no. 2, *Uma ni nete*, which

¹⁸³ *Nozarashi o kokoro ni kaze no shimu mi kana* / Bleached bones on my mind, the wind pierces my body to the heart (Barnhill 2004, 41). The Romanization for each poem is given according to the reading given in the sheet music, which is why details can differ with some other accounts.

is the perfect introduction to Mitsukuri's theory in practice. It has already been subject to extensive discussion even in the West (Galliano 2002, 69–70; Herd 1987, 40–49; 2004, 50–51; Pacun 2012, 28–31). However, these analyses have not sufficiently approached it in the context of Mitsukuri's theory. Dohi (1988, 82) analyzes the work as if Mitsukuri's theory consisted only of positive keys, therefore missing a crucial aspect. Galliano (2002, 69) and Herd (1987, 45) have described the scale accurately but do not explain it with Mitsukuri's theory based on series of fifths. Herd (2004, 50) and Pacun (2012, 28–31) analyze Mitsukuri's music and its methods of capturing the atmosphere of the poem, but do not discuss the theoretical background in detail. Therefore, although several analyses of the work exist, the song is not over-analyzed at all.

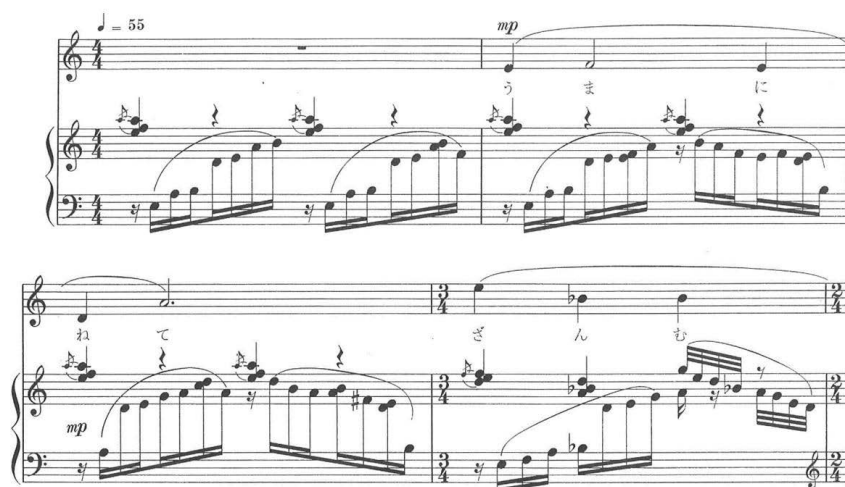
Compared with song no. 1, *Uma ni nete* is more complex in its treatment of harmony, and also uses it as a device to convey the poem's meaning. The description below shows the modulations occurring in the song. Note, particularly, the constant changes in the second line—even during the word “moon.”

(A) Uma ni nete	(A) I slept on my horse
(B) Zammu tsu (C) ki (D) tōshi	(B) lingering dream—the
	mo (C) on (D) far away
(E) Cha no kemuri	(E) steam from tea ¹⁸⁴

- (A, mm. 1–3): negative E
 (B, mm. 4–first beat of m. 5): negative A
 (C second beat of m. 5): negative E
 (D mm. 6–7): positive A
 (E, mm. 7–9): negative E

The key changes are not solely my interpretations—Mitsukuri discussed them as well, albeit only partially (Akiyoshi 1941, 28). The composer's own account is important in that it affirms certain keys that would otherwise seem illogical. To be more precise, the scale in the very beginning (ex. 5.1) is puzzling.

¹⁸⁴ My translation.



Example 5.1 *Uma ni nete*, mm. 1–4 (Mitsukuri 1971a, 43). Words Matsuo Bashō. © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

The song begins in negative E, which should follow the series E-A-D-G-C-F-B \flat . However, the seventh degree in the song is B, not B \flat . This practice also occurs in the B section in negative A, which should not adopt E but E \flat as the seventh degree. The ending phrase in negative E again adopts B instead of B \flat . The same practice also occurs in the first song, which should be in negative A and thus adopt E \flat , not E as the seventh degree (ex. 5.2).



Example 5.2 *Nozarashi*, mm. 4–5 (Mitsukuri 1971a, 42). Words Matsuo Bashō. © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

The practice is so consistent in both songs that it exceeds the mere “constant modulations” emphasized by Mitsukuri in his theoretical accounts. Considering that he explicitly stated that the five first pitches in the series are the most important, it also seems strange that the fourth and fifth degrees appear so seldom in actual use both in sections in negative E (G and C) and negative A (C and F). This applies to the first song as well.

There are two possible explanations to these practices. The first one is offered in theories of traditional music. As can be seen in example 4.3, Koizumi

Fumio discovered that B is typically not treated as a nuclear tone in music adopting the *min'yō* scale from E (Koizumi 1958, 247–249). Since Mitsukuri referred to the phenomenon of composing “what his ears demanded hearing” (Mitsukuri 1930a, 5), it is possible that his intuitive knowledge of traditional music resulted in the sharpening of the seventh degree in the negative scale, and not presenting the fourth and fifth degrees. The *min'yō* scale does not include F, a pitch that *Uma ni nete* adopts consistently, thereby making the scale a disjunctive combination of the *miyakobushi* and *min'yō* tetrachords (E-F-A and B-D-E, ex. 5.3). This would explain the reluctance to use the fourth and fifth degrees, as well. While this suggests traditional influence, however, disjunctive combination of the *miyakobushi* and *min'yō* tetrachords is not a typical scale in traditional music. Furthermore, these ideas only explain the structure of the scale; the melody does not focus on the frames of tetrachords.



Example 5.3 The scale adopted in the beginning and ending in *Uma ni nete* (left) and an identical scale constructed from Koizumi’s tetrachords (right).

The second explanation for the sharpening of the seventh degree is simpler. Since Mitsukuri’s scales follow series of consecutive fifths, continuing the series from the seventh degree would eventually lead to inclusion of all pitches of the chromatic scale before returning to the fundamental tone. By raising the seventh degree a semitone, the series continues again from the fundamental and forms a diatonic scale. This explanation logically requires the same to happen in reverse manner in the positive scale, meaning that the seventh degree should become flattened. This is discussed below with songs adopting positive keys.

Another interesting device in *Uma ni nete* is the harmony’s deviation from the poem’s 5-7-5 meter. That is, while both 5-syllable verses are written using only one key, the 7-syllable verse is divided harmonically to three parts: four syllables (*lingering dream—the moon* [first half *tsu* of the word *tsuki*; negative A), one syllable (second half *ki* of *tsuki*; negative E), and two syllables (*far away*; positive A). The reason for this is in the contents of the poem. The change from the negative key to positive emphasizes a flipping of the mood, as the portrayal of dreams changes to the portrayal of the distant moon. It is already the word “moon” (*tsuki*) that prepares this shift with the raised sixth degree (B). The changes in harmony are, therefore, used to depict awakening from a dream. The five-syllable verses based on stable harmony in the main key depict the world outside dreams, in a sense creating a stable basis, and conveying the poem by tonal devices. With this, the song aims at catching the structure and contents of the poem.

Apart from harmony, the use of tempo and rhythm also convey aspects of the poem. The material keeps on quickening until the (D) section, in which the

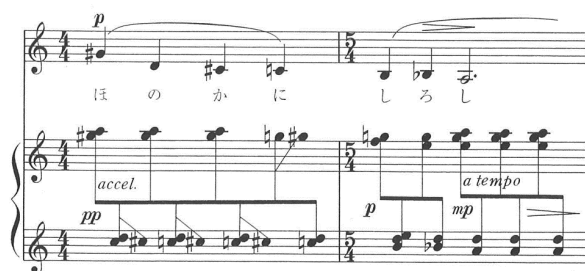
progression halts abruptly. As also Pacun (2012, 29) notes, this is because accompanying figures in the right hand of the piano (ex. 5.1) hint at the idea of a running horse. Pacun further suggests that the left hand symbolizes the sleeping poet. A reasonable interpretation, although I would argue that both right and left hand portray a running horse, whereas the sudden quickening of the arpeggios symbolizes a shift between dream and reality. The surreal atmosphere in the phrase *tōshi* (far away) portrays the far-away, silent moon with its static material. Herd (2004, 50) notes similarity in the ascending final passage and the idea of the evaporating steam from tea, and suggests similarity between the arpeggios of the piano and the playing techniques of the *koto*. The music, however, does not allude exclusively to the *koto*, and the similarity seems even less likely when compared with Mitsukuri's piano works alluding to the performance practices of the *koto* (see discussion on *Night Rhapsody* in Chapter 5.1.5). Therefore, it does not seem likely that Mitsukuri would have sought to allude to any distinctive genre of Japanese music.

The first two songs with their consistent practice of raising the seventh degree and omitting the fourth and fifth degrees suggest that Mitsukuri's written accounts were not nearly as pedantic as they appear. The omission of the fourth and fifth degrees is a particularly curious practice, considering that Mitsukuri claimed the first five pitches in series of fifths to be the most important. Above all, however, the first two songs are important in that they offer an example of the basics of the harmony in practice, becoming also an analytical tool with which to examine the following songs, which adopt more complex approaches.

The third song *Umi kurete* (type B)¹⁸⁵ in negative E confirms the observations on the consistent sharpening of the seventh degree, and the omission of the fourth and fifth degrees.¹⁸⁶ It is classified in type B because of a sudden chromatic descent making use of suspensions in measures 6–7 (ex. 5.4). This passage of the poem (“faintly white”) does not suggest a descending quality, but Mitsukuri uses it to depict a sunset—content only implied in the poem. As such, *Umi kurete* is the first in *Bashō's Travels* to present an interpretation of the poem in musical terms. Aside from the chromatic passage, however, *Umi kurete* is not that much different from the two first songs.

¹⁸⁵ *Umi kurete kamo no koe honoka ni shiroshi* / The sea darkening, a wild duck's call faintly white (Barnhill 2004, 47).

¹⁸⁶ This is a practice that occurs in all following song in *Bashō's Travels*, which is why it is not mentioned hereafter.



Example 5.4 *Umi kurete*, mm. 6–7 (Mitsukuri 1971a, 44). Words Matsuo Bashō. © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

The fourth song, *Fuyu no hi*¹⁸⁷ (type B), demonstrates somewhat more original approaches. It is in negative B and modulates constantly between positive and negative keys by raising the sixth degree (C) so that it becomes the fourth degree of the relative key, positive E (C#). This, interestingly, takes place with practically simultaneous adoptions of both negative B and positive E. Mitsukuri emphasized the need for “constant modulations” (1948, 145) and noted that the positive and negative scales exist “simultaneously” in works adopting his harmony (1934, 17). *Fuyu no hi* shows both aspects: the modulations occur on C, and the appearance of G (instead of G#, as it should be in positive E) always hints negative B. This happens, for example, in measure 3, where the first beat is in negative B, first half of second in positive B, third in negative B, and fourth in negative B *and* positive E (ex. 5.5).



Example 5.5 *Fuyu no hi*, m. 3 (Mitsukuri 1971a, 45). Words Matsuo Bashō. © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

The “frozen shadow” in Bashō’s poem is typically interpreted as an objectified figure of the poet himself, frozen with cold (Ueda 1991, 170). This seems to be Mitsukuri’s reading, as well. Modulating between relative keys is an expression of this: it creates a sense of two “relative” worlds of reality and imagination, or constant alternations between them; the poet and his shadow, or himself as a

¹⁸⁷ *Fuyu no hi ya bajō ni kōru kagebōshi* / The winter’s sun—on the horse’s back, my frozen shadow (Ueda 1991, 170).

shadow, staying on the horse's back. When the key settles on negative B in the last measures, the piano parallels the descending sung melody in an ascending manner, indeed becoming its "shadow" (ex. 5.6).



Example 5.6 *Fuyu no hi*, mm. 11–13 (Mitsukuri 1971a, 45). Words Matsuo Bashō. © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

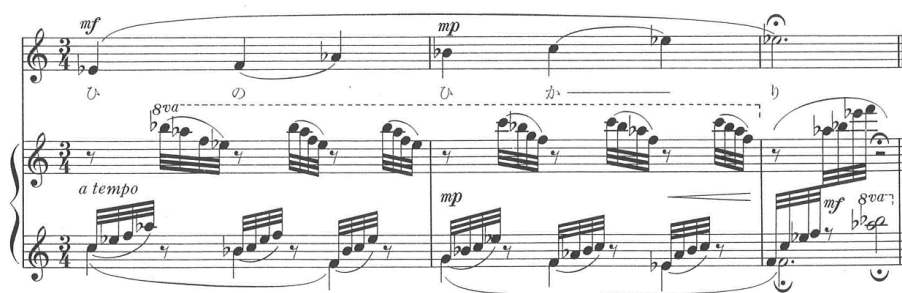
Mitsukuri (1948, 133) claimed that the fifth song, *Aratōto*¹⁸⁸ (type C), is the one least resembling Japanese-style composition, as it adopts the most developed form of his harmony, leading to chromatic music resembling modulations applied by Hindemith rather than traditional Japanese music (as Gil-Marchex pointed out to Mitsukuri; see Dohi 1988, 85). It is true that *Aratōto* applies a new key before the previous has ended, leading into a type of bitonality. While some passages do adopt polytonality, however, the song also contains passages in clear-cut keys of Mitsukuri's harmony with only minor polytonal tendencies. Furthermore, the claim that the song does "not sound East Asian" (Mitsukuri 1948, 133) is debatable, as some passages are based on pentatonic scales and harmonies. It is true, however, that the song contains more modulations than any of the preceding ones. Frequent changes in harmony and chromaticism are apparent already in the opening (ex. 5.7).



Example 5.7 *Aratōto*, mm. 1–4 (Mitsukuri 1971a, 46). Words Matsuo Bashō. © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

¹⁸⁸ *Aratōto aoba wakaba no hi no hikari* / So holy: green leaves, young leaves, in sun's light (Barnhill 2004, 88).

The beginning gesture of the piano presents two different keys, and the beginning phrase of the sung line again introduces a new one. While the beginning keys do not offer sufficient material to make any clear-cut definitions—a characteristic creating a feeling of instability—the first beat is possibly in positive D, which modulates again on the second beat. The chromaticism in measure 3 can only be explained with accidentals or simultaneous keys which remain undefinable, but the melody beginning from measure 4 hints positive F or positive C. Both seem equally likely: the pentatonic melody does not include E or B \flat , accounting for sixth and seventh degrees of positive F; on the other hand, the melody begins from C suggesting that it could be the fundamental.¹⁸⁹ The next measure with an ascending gesture from G \sharp , however, confirms that the key was indeed positive F, as also the key in measures 5–6 is positive E, even though it begins from the fifth degree. Measures 7–9 are in positive F \sharp , after which the song ends on a stable harmony for the rest of the piece: positive A \flat in measures 10–13 (ex. 5.8). While the harmonies do not give a clear sense of the key, the ending chord—triad A \flat -E \flat -B \flat —confirms it. This is also a passage strongly hinting an East Asian flavour through its use of pentatonic scale and harmony.



Example 5.8 *Aratōto*, mm. 11–13 (Mitsukuri 1971a, 46). Words Matsuo Bashō. © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

Although Mitsukuri's comments about the song's polytonality are exaggerated, it does comprise more modulations than any of the previous songs: *Aratōto* introduces seven different keys in only 13 measures. Moreover, the feeling of a stable key is diminished with the effect of not beginning chords from their root forms. Ironically, it is the supposedly polytonal *Aratōto* which contains the first appearances of positive keys long enough to make observations on the treatment of tonal material. It proves that the seventh degree is flattened in the positive scale, but also shows that positive keys indeed put emphasis on the first five pitches of the ascending series of fifths, as Mitsukuri suggested in

¹⁸⁹ F appearing in the scale would be justified on the assumption that the seventh degree of positive keys is flattened in positive keys as it is sharpened in negative ones.

his writings. Based on this, it would seem that most of Mitsukuri's written accounts are actually about the positive, not negative scales.

Aratōto is also an example of how Mitsukuri conveys poetic material with harmony. The poem implicitly refers to Nikkō,¹⁹⁰ but Mitsukuri's song is a portrayal of what is depicted in the poem concretely: admiration of the captivating sight of leaves bathing in sunlight. After the sigh-like descending gesture in the sung part ("so holy") in measures 2–3 (ex. 5.7), the constant modulations create a vibrant image of glimmer and changes of colors—demonstrating the use of harmony as a coloristic element. Musically, the third line ("in sun's light") is nearly identical with the second ("green leaves, young leaves"): it is simply transposed a major second lower, and the ending pitch is different. This also emphasizes the sameness of these two lines: they both depict the same sight.

The sixth song, *Shizukasa ya*¹⁹¹ (type C) should be the most difficult of all to analyze: Mitsukuri remarked that the scale adopted also contained chromaticism and was something that "even he did not fully understand" (see Dohi 1988, 86). *Shizukasa ya* certainly proves somewhat difficult to analyze, but not to the degree one would expect based on this remark. The key to understanding the song and its chromaticism is in the discord E-F in the right hand of the piano—imitating the piercing sound of cicadas—which is present throughout the song. It is rather a "sound effect" than material adopting any distinctive key. Putting these two pitches aside and accepting certain chromatic deviations from the otherwise apparent keys, the song becomes much easier to analyze.

The song can be divided harmonically into two sections: the first adopting negative C (mm. 2–9) with the fifth degree A \flat sharpened constantly to A—as can be seen in measures 4–6 (ex. 5.9)—and B \flat sharpened to B in measure 3; and the second adopting negative F without deviations (mm. 10–12). This analysis of the harmony is not altogether satisfactory, as the preceding songs have not contained similar inconsistencies. It does, however, bring logic to the use of harmony. Aside from the imitation of the cicadas, the song does not contain particularly notable devices for conveying the poem in musical terms.

¹⁹⁰ Nikkō is a city in Tochigi prefecture. Its writing (日光) literally means "sunlight," which is also an allusion in Bashō's poem (Shirane 2008, 104).

¹⁹¹ *Shizukasa ya iwa ni shimiiru semi no koe* / The stillness—seeping into the rocks cicadas' screech (Ueda 1991, 249).



Example 5.9 *Shizukasa ya*, mm. 4–6 (Mitsukuri 1971a, 47). Words Matsuo Bashō. © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

Song nos. 7¹⁹², 8¹⁹³ (both type B), and 10¹⁹⁴ (Type A) introduce interesting viewpoints to Mitsukuri's compositional language. Compared with the preceding ones, however, they do not offer any new approaches to the use of the harmony—nor to its use as Japanese-style composition. In these aspects, the last song requiring more detailed discussion is the ninth, *Kiku no ka*¹⁹⁵ (Type B). The music is based mostly on pentatonic scales, therefore leaving open several possible interpretations for the keys adopted. The first three beats suggest positive F, but the harmony changes already on the fourth beat to negative D—a key not related to positive F (ex. 5.10).



Example 5.10 *Kiku no ka*, mm. 1–2 (Mitsukuri 1971a, 50). © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

This notion is stressed with the absence of F and B \flat , the fourth and fifth degrees. Measure 2, as well, seems to be in negative D, particularly with the emphasis on D. However, positive G—the relative key—seems more likely with the triad G-D-A. Positive G changes again to negative D in measure 4. The song ends in positive G. Emphasis is on the relative keys positive G and negative D,

¹⁹² *Araumi ya Sado ni yokotau amanogawa* / Turbulent the sea—Across to Sado stretches The Milky Way (Keene 1996, 127).

¹⁹³ *Samidare no sora fukiotose Ōigawa* / Summer rains; blow that sky down, Ōigawa (Barnhill 2004, 146).

¹⁹⁴ *Tabi ni yande yume wa kareno o kakemeguru* / On a journey, ailing—my dreams roam about on a withered moor (Ueda 1991, 413).

¹⁹⁵ *Kiku no ka ya Nara ni wa furuki hotoketachi* / Chrysanthemum scent—in Nara, ancient statues of the Buddha (Shirane 2008, 93).

which also gives a new explanation to the very first measure: while it is difficult to make a definite analysis of keys, it seems that the first two beats are in negative D and the third in positive G. The use of harmony in the song, therefore, is largely about fluctuating between two relative keys.

To understand Mitsukuri's approach, we need to examine the poem. *Kiku no ka* was either the ninth or tenth song Mitsukuri composed in chronological order—both were written in May 1931—but there was also another reason for Mitsukuri to place it as ninth. In the poem, Bashō writes about the Chrysanthemum Festival Day, which he attended on the ninth day of the Ninth month in 1694 (Shirane 2008, 93).¹⁹⁶ Shirane (ibid.) has written the following about the poem: “The chrysanthemum, considered the aristocrat of flowers in classical poetry and a seasonal word for late autumn, possesses a strong but refined fragrance. The many buddhas in the ancient capital of Nara evoke a similar sense of dignity, solemnity, and refinement as well as nostalgia for a bygone era.” This also serves as a key to understanding Mitsukuri's musical approach. The solemn mood of the song portrays the Buddha statues in Nara, but seems to be in contrast with a certain aspect of instability brought by the key constantly fluctuating between positive and negative.

Unlike in *Fuyu no hi*, however, Mitsukuri does not apply this aspect as an expression of instability. Note, first, that whereas *Fuyu no hi* makes use of the simultaneous adoption of positive and negative keys and constantly modulates on the fourth and sixth degrees, *Kiku no ka ya* blurs the modulations by presenting pitches common to both keys, so that the modulations are difficult to locate in the first place. The pitches enabling certain definition of key (E and E♭) appear sparsely—only on five beats in the song consisting of 42 beats. This aspect is further emphasized in that unlike in the previous songs, the harmonies are not stacked on the root for the most part.

Rather than bringing a sense of instability to the song, however, this approach defies the need to recognize a key in the first place. At the same time, it evokes a mood similar to *gagaku*—the genre of music that was originally established as court music in Japan during the Nara period (710–794). Indeed, among the ten songs in *Bashō's Travels*, *Kiku no ka* is the only resembling any genre of Japanese music in style. This resemblance is merely suggested; like Bashō's poems are structured on the idea of hinting further meanings through reduced expression, Mitsukuri's song does not imitate *gagaku* as such and does not make any allusions to *gagaku* instruments or rhythms. The choice of mood, however, is perfect as a tool to hint at impressions. There are traces of “nostalgia for a bygone era” even in individual measures. See, for example, the emphasis on D in measure 2 (ex. 5.10). The key has already changed to a new one, but the fundamental of the previous key lingers in a persistent manner. Mitsukuri not only blurs the change of key with this device, but also suggests

¹⁹⁶ The ninth month, according to the old calculation, corresponds approximately to October in the Gregorian calendar. In whichever order Mitsukuri composed the ninth and tenth songs, their placement in *Bashō's Travels* is reasonable, as the tenth song is composed to Bashō's last poem.

an atmosphere that Bashō implies in the poem. In this aspect, *Kiku no ka* uses harmony to convey the poem.

Bashō's Travels presents various uses for Mitsukuri's theory, ranging from rather conventional (Type A) to more complex uses. What is "Japanese" in these songs, however, comes mostly from the theoretical origins of the harmony. None of them allude to any specific genres of traditional music aside from *Kiku no ka*, in which the allusion serves the goal of conveying the poem. Even in this case, it remains on a suggestive level. This observation is also the main key to understand *Bashō's Travels*. It is indeed as Herd (1987, 49) and Galliano (2002, 69) have noted: the charm of the work lies in the ways that it captures the spirit and atmospheres of the miniature expression in Bashō's poems. In this, the use of harmony also has an important role and becomes an integral device in musical expression.

5.1.2 *Sarabanda alla giapponese*

After three years of not discussing or using his harmony, Mitsukuri returned to the topic in 1934 both by publishing his original treatise in several languages (Mitsukuri 1934) and writing a new work adopting the theory. This composition, *Sarabanda alla giapponese*, is the third movement of *Sinfonietta in D* (1934)—a work which brought Mitsukuri international fame after winning an award in Ongaku konkuru in 1934. As with *Bashō's Travels*, *Sinfonietta* was also conducted in Europe by Rhené-Baton, but unlike *Bashō's Travels* it is a work of absolute music. This suggests the possibility of new approaches to the harmony.

The four-movement *Sinfonietta* is a rather peculiar work. The title is even inaccurate: while movements two, three, and four are indeed short, the first movement (*Allegro – Presto leggierissimo*) is a large-scale work by itself in terms of length.¹⁹⁷ It adopts the classical sonata form, whereas the second movement *Aria* is a lyrical adagio, and the fourth movement *Fuga* is a baroque-style fugue. It seems peculiar that Mitsukuri—key founder of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei and thus arguably a follower of modern styles—wrote a work following classical forms in a rather pedantic manner. There is, however, a reason for this, and we will see that despite this approach *Sarabanda alla giapponese* takes a central position by proving originality instead of simply following the Western tradition.

Before going into more detail on the role of the work, however, let us first examine the use of harmony in *Sarabanda alla giapponese*, or *Japanese Sarabande*. The title itself already suggests a synthesis of Japanese and Western elements—the goal of Mitsukuri's harmony. The movement is in AB form, the A section in negative A and in a tranquil tempo (♩=66), and the B section in the relative key positive D, and in a livelier tempo (♩=92), until it

¹⁹⁷ In the published Tcherepnin Edition, the first movement comprises 28 pages, whereas the second has 6, the third 10, and the fourth 8.

briefly returns to the material of the A section in the original tempo.¹⁹⁸ In both sections, the musical material consists of one theme, which is performed on different instrument groups but remains virtually unvaried. Theme B, however, varies the rhythmic elements of theme A, as can be seen by comparing examples 5.11 and 5.12.

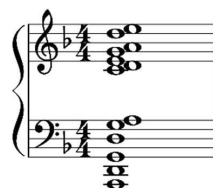


Example 5.11 Theme of the A section in *Sarabanda alla giapponese* (Mitsukuri 1936).



Example 5.12 Theme of the B section in *Sarabanda alla giapponese* (Mitsukuri 1936).

Sarabanda adopts the harmony conventionally, meaning a treatment similar to song Type A in *Bashō's Travels*. The work introduces only two keys, and does not include any passages posing difficulties for an analysis of the harmony. It also confirms those observations made already regarding *Bashō's Travels* about unwritten rules in the theory—namely the treatment of the seventh degree, and fourth and fifth degrees in negative keys. There are, however, two notable differences between *Sarabanda* and *Bashō's Travels*: *Sarabanda* is composed for a larger ensemble, and is not based on a program. As with *Bashō's Travels*, *Sarabanda* does not contain any distinctive influences from traditional music. The only potential influence is in the very beginning of the work, with the chord clusters performed by strings (ex. 5.13) bearing some resemblance with the *aitake* chords in *gagaku* (ex. 3.4). Rather than being an allusion, however, the resemblance stems from Mitsukuri's theory being based on a system similar with *gagaku*.



Example 5.13 Cluster played by the strings in mm. 1–8 in *Sarabanda alla giapponese* (Mitsukuri 1936). Note that the fourth degree C appears only once.

Rather than exploring the use of harmony in *Sarabanda*, it seems more relevant to examine why Mitsukuri decided to adopt the harmony in a

¹⁹⁸ Note how this also relates to D major, the main key in *Sinfonietta*.

movement of *Sinfonietta*. In *Bashō's Travels*, it is not only the program that justifies the use of harmony, and the changes of keys always serve the function of conveying poetic contents. *Sarabanda* naturally does not have this aspect, but it seems unlikely that Mitsukuri would have decided to apply his harmony in a work by coincidence after a three-year break.

To understand the meaning behind the use of harmony in *Sarabanda*, we have to examine the context of the work. Sarabande is a musical form of Western origin, and Mitsukuri's *Sarabanda* is one movement in a *sinfonietta* that could be very well described as "neoclassical." The purpose of the modulation serves a function in this context: it is a modulation between relative keys in a small-scale binary form—an approach met in countless works of Western art music. *Sarabanda* is Mitsukuri's proof that his harmony is applicable to absolute music following formal aspects of Western music rather than Japanese traditions.¹⁹⁹ *Sarabanda* is, much more than *Bashō's Travels*, a work seeking common ground between musical traditions.

Whereas the context of the whole work explains the nature of the modulation in *Sarabanda*, however, one question remaining unanswered is *why* Mitsukuri included a movement adopting the theory of Japanese harmony in *Sinfonietta*—particularly since it does not introduce any new aspects to its use. The approach becomes comprehensible by examining the purpose that *Sinfonietta* itself serves. Mitsukuri published his treatise on Japanese harmony again in the year of composition, but this time also in French and German (Mitsukuri 1934). To me, this suggests that he wished for international recognition. In other words, whereas the other movements of *Sinfonietta* show a mature and pedantic adoption of European compositional techniques, *Sarabanda* was Mitsukuri's way of proving Japanese originality in the work. As his treatise, *Sinfonietta* was aimed not only at domestic but also at international audiences. This approach was eventually successful: after winning an award in Ongaku konkuuru, it was performed in many European cities, and published in the Tcherepnin Edition. This is how Mitsukuri's Japanese idiom reached international audiences—as "national music" that is fundamentally international by nature.

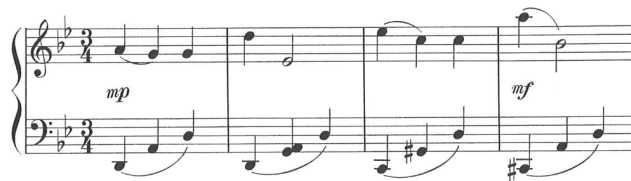
5.1.3 *Fallen Leaves*

Fallen Leaves (*Ochiba*, 1936) was the last work in which Mitsukuri recognized having adopted his harmony. Whereas *Bashō's Travels* was based on literary works of pre-Meiji Japan and *Sarabanda* was absolute music, *Fallen Leaves* introduces a new context as a work based on contemporary poetry. Yamamura Kōji (山村耕二, 1914–1984) wrote *Fallen Leaves* to bid farewell to his little brother who had died of illness, and requested that Mitsukuri compose music to commemorate his late brother (Mitsukuri 1971b, 149). Among Mitsukuri's

¹⁹⁹ As discussed in Chapter 4.1., Mitsukuri emphasized this aspect of his harmony at later stages (e.g. Akiyoshi 1937a, 12).

works using his harmony, *Fallen Leaves* is peculiar in that Mitsukuri possibly did not consciously adopt the harmony—or was, at least, unsure whether the song counts as an adoption of the theory or not. What suggests this was so is that whereas Mitsukuri mentioned *Fallen Leaves* among his works adopting the theory in 1948 (Mitsukuri 1948, 130), he did not do so in any earlier writings (as Akiyoshi 1941, 23). One explanation of this is that whereas in his earlier writing Mitsukuri mentioned *Bashō's Travels* and *Sarabanda* as works adopting his harmony in its “pure” form, he later (Mitsukuri 1948, 130) explained that *Fallen Leaves* represented a “developed” version of the harmony. According to Mitsukuri (1971b, 149), *Fallen Leaves* is a synthesis of Western and Japanese harmony. He did not explain this further, but the comment offers a relevant starting point from which to examine the song.

Whether being a conscious adoption or not, the choice to compose *Fallen Leaves* using the system does demonstrate sensitivity to the poem, which is written in old-fashioned Japanese. The opening piano solo already shows that Mitsukuri's approach is different from his earlier compositions (ex. 5.14). While measures 1 and 2 are clearly in negative D, measures 3 and 4 prove more difficult to analyze. They make a chromatic ascent (from C to D and from G# to A), and by this introduce the idea of leading tones—an element of Western tonality—into Mitsukuri's system. It is particularly interesting how they combine Mitsukuri's system with Western harmony: using C# as a leading tone to the “tonic” D in measure 5 is an approach that Mitsukuri's theoretical accounts do not recognize.



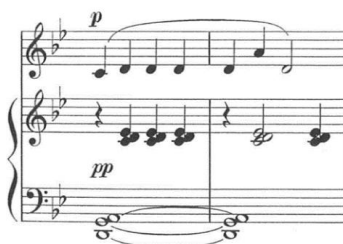
Example 5.14 *Fallen Leaves*, mm. 1–4 (Mitsukuri 1971c, 14).
© Zenon gakufu shuppansha

The simultaneous adoption of Western and Japanese harmony characterizes the song overall. This is best illustrated in a suspension and resolution occurring in the piano part in measures 28–30 (ex. 5.15). The passage and key signature suggest G minor. In terms of Western harmony, the right hand of the piano is a plausible accompaniment for the sung melody: A in measure 28 resolves to G in measure 29, becoming now the root of a G minor chord. However, the left hand of the piano suggests something else. It introduces a new suspension in measure 29—leading into dissonances with the right hand—which then resolves to an open fifth in measure 30.



Example 5.15 *Fallen Leaves*, mm. 28–30, words omitted (Mitsukuri 1971c, 15). © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

Measures 28 and 30 are easy to explain with Mitsukuri’s theory. They suggest negative D on G, which is resolved in the following measures 31–32, introducing the “tonic” chord in negative D—typically lacking the fourth and fifth degrees (F and B \flat) (ex. 5.16). Analyzed in the context of Western harmony, however, this chord—a consonance in Mitsukuri’s theory—is a dissonance with unresolved suspensions.



Example 5.16 *Fallen Leaves*, mm. 31–32, words omitted (Mitsukuri 1971c, 15). © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

It is impossible to claim either analysis of the harmony “correct.” Rather, the very essence of *Fallen Leaves* lies in this contradictory synthesis: whether being analyzed in the context of Western or Japanese harmony—or both—it remains full of suspensions that never completely settle. This goes on until the end of the song, which finally ends on the “tonic” chord negative D, suggesting Japanese harmony. Even this chord is, however, reached through a leading tone (C \sharp) applied in the manner of Western harmony (ex. 5.17).



Example 5.17 *Fallen Leaves*, mm. 70–74, words omitted (Mitsukuri 1971c, 16). © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

Rather than regarding the song exclusively in terms of Japanese or Western harmony, we should ask if the contradiction serves another purpose. I already noted above that adopting Japanese harmony is a natural choice for a poem written in old-fashioned Japanese. But do the practices of harmony hold some meaning as well? It appears that they do—but this does not have to do with contrasting specifically Western and Japanese elements with each other, but rather with contrasting *two different* elements with each other. The poem is a requiem for a deceased person, who is associated with a weakened young leaf falling from a tree. The approach of bringing a constantly contrasting and unsettling mood to the music adds a further agonistic element to the song. At the same time, introducing Western leading tones to Mitsukuri's harmony also achieves the same effect as they do in Western harmony—that of creating dramatic changes. In this aspect, the simultaneous use of Japanese and Western harmony succeeds in conveying the essence of the poem well.

In the end, what Mitsukuri described as a “developed version” of his harmony is the result of the system taking one step closer to practices of Western theory. This is a peculiar approach considering that the system is originally a synthesis of Western and Japanese principles; some passages in *Fallen Leaves* remain impossible to analyze with Mitsukuri's theory. While this is a suitable approach to the poem, it also leaves some questions unanswered, particularly in the context of Mitsukuri's other works. *Fallen Leaves* does incorporate fundamental qualities from Japanese harmony—but is it sufficiently different from Mitsukuri's other Japanese-style works that it counts as a work adopting Japanese harmony, when the others do not? I would like to give this some further thought below with discussion of Mitsukuri's other work.

5.1.4 Mitsukuri's harmony in use

Examining Mitsukuri's harmony in practice show that his writings are somewhat illogical. They mostly discuss applications of the positive scale, although of the twelve individual works adopting the harmony, nine are, or contain long passages, in negative keys.²⁰⁰ Examining Mitsukuri's harmony in use reveals the following characteristics not explicitly stated in written accounts on the theory:

- 1) The seventh degree is either flattened (positive keys) or sharpened (negative keys) to ensure that the seventh and first degrees are separated by a perfect fifth in the series (ex. 5.18).
- 2) In negative keys, the fourth and fifth degrees appear more seldom than the sixth or seventh. This is contradictory with Mitsukuri's statement that the first five degrees are the most important.

²⁰⁰ The three works not counted in these are the fourth, fifth, and ninth songs in *Bashō's Travels*, all of which contain constant fluctuation between positive and negative keys.

- 3) Modulations between relative keys by sharpening or flattening the fourth or sixth degree do not occur as often as Mitsukuri's theoretical account suggests.
- 4) Harmonies remain relatively stable throughout the works adopting the theory, excluding those where instability serves the function of conveying an aspect of the program. Chords are seldom presented in broken forms.
- 5) Harmonies or chords do not serve functions. There are no typical cadences, nor leading tones, although *Fallen Leaves* adopts leading tones from Western harmony.
- 6) The "Japanese" in Mitsukuri's harmony is limited to its theoretical origins in *gagaku*. In this aspect, it is as much Japanese as it is Western.



Example 5.18 Positive scale from A, negative scale from E in practice. Those pitches appearing only seldom are marked with black notes. Compare with the scales based on Mitsukuri's theoretical account (ex. 4.1).

In Japanese music of the 1930s, Mitsukuri's works adopting the harmony theory occupy an interesting position. As works avoiding direct allusions to traditional Japanese music, they exceed the mere exoticism of which the national school was accused of. Although it seems—based both on his works and writings—that Mitsukuri aimed for international recognition, his methods were in contrast with those criticized by Moroi (1937), who lamented that composers of the national school yearning for international recognition succumbed to adopting only superficial Japanese elements in their work. Mitsukuri, on the contrary, demonstrated versatile uses for his theory, which sought for common ground between Japanese and Western music.

From this viewpoint, it seems puzzling that Mitsukuri stopped using the harmony with *Fallen Leaves*—particularly as he began his most active period of writing on the topic only after *Fallen Leaves*.²⁰¹ It would seem likely that Mitsukuri gave up on his theory after it did not receive the attention he had hoped for. Should this assumption be correct, we might even conclude that harmony eventually proved not to be the "fateful question" which Kiyose (1936a, 13) believed it was. However, I believe that there is also another explanation—that Mitsukuri did not, in reality, give up his theory. This has to do with his other works.

²⁰¹ Akiyoshi (1936; 1937a-c; 1941); Mitsukuri (1936; 1948; 1985).

5.1.5 Mitsukuri as a Japanese-style composer

Mitsukuri was a versatile composer who wrote in several different idioms, including German Romantic, French Impressionist, and Japanese. But what role does his harmony theory occupy in this context? In his original treatise, Mitsukuri stated that he wanted to create a theory which would enable him to combine East Asian melodies with a harmony. It is, indeed, true that most of his compositions adopting his theory evoke an East Asian mood, in that they follow pentatonic scales. However, this also occurs in his other works, and raises the question of what is different between the approaches. To understand Mitsukuri as a Japanese-style composer in a wider perspective, we need to examine these works as well.

Most of Mitsukuri's Japanese-style works imitate or quote traditional music. His approach to quoting melodies is best illustrated in the use of the melody "Sakura sakura" ("Cherry Blossoms") (ex. 5.19). For example, the piano piece *Sakura sakura* (1940) is a fugue based on the song (ex. 5.20). Mitsukuri also quotes the melody in the beginning of the song *Death* (*Shi*, 1933–1935; ex. 5.21)—where the quotation is virtually identical with that of the theme in the beginning of the fugue *Sakura sakura*—as he does also in *Concertino for Piano and Orchestra* (1953). There are also other examples of quotations: *Pigeon* (*Hato*, 1932) quotes the children's song "Kagome kagome," and *Violin Sonata* (1935) quotes the melody "Edo Lullaby" ("Edo komoriuta").²⁰² Apart from these quotations, Mitsukuri frequently reused materials from his previous works. For instance, the overture *Walking the Earth* became the first movement of Mitsukuri's first symphony in F (1950).²⁰³ The solo piano piece *Night Rhapsody* became the second movement of *Concertino for Piano and Orchestra*, and melodies from *Bashō's Travels* were reused in several works, including *Violin Sonata* and *Concertino for Piano and Orchestra*.



Example 5.19 Melody of "Sakura, sakura" (excerpt).



Example 5.20 Piano piece *Sakura sakura*, mm. 20–24 (Mitsukuri 1957a, 10). © Ongaku no tomo sha

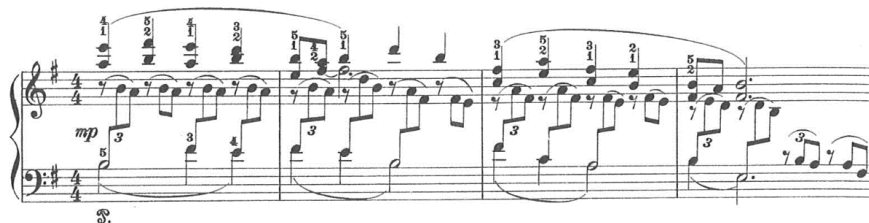
²⁰² "Edo Lullaby" is discussed in Chapter 5.5 with Yamamoto Naotada's work.

²⁰³ This was apparently intended from the beginning, as Mitsukuri (as Akiyoshi 1940, 68) explained soon after finishing the work.

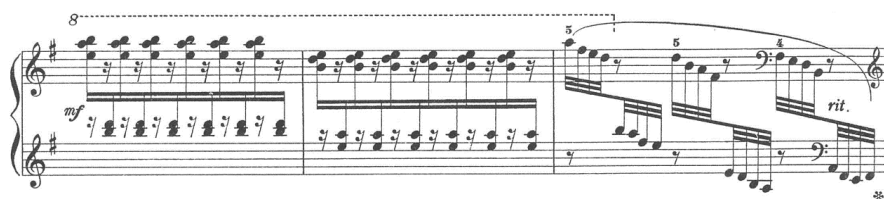


Example 5.21 *Death*, mm. 1–4 (Mitsukuri 1971d, 103).
© Zenon gakufu shuppansha

Mitsukuri's other techniques for alluding to traditional music are illustrated in his pentatonic works. The second piece in *Two Poems* adopts a pentatonic melody and inspired Mitsukuri to theorize on Japanese harmony, but a particularly fitting example is the piano piece *Night Rhapsody* (1935). It is based on pentatonic scales and composed in an idiom resembling French Impressionism, as can be seen already in the beginning measures (ex. 5.22). *Night Rhapsody*, however, also introduces an approach seldom met in Mitsukuri's work: the imitation of Japanese instruments. The tremolos and arpeggios in measures 36–38 are imitations of the playing practices of the *koto* (ex. 5.23).



Example 5.22 *Night Rhapsody*, mm. 1–4 (Mitsukuri 1957b, 4).
© Ongaku no tomo sha



Example 5.23 *Night Rhapsody*, mm. 36–38 (Mitsukuri 1957b, 6).
© Ongaku no tomo sha

Mitsukuri's Japanese-style works, particularly those based on pentatonic scales, raise a question about the use of harmony. He did not recognize any of them as works adopting his theory. Closer examination reveals, however, that all of them are perfectly explainable through the logic of Mitsukuri's theory.

Let us examine the examples presented above. *Sakura sakura* (ex. 5.20) returns from negative F# to negative B upon the entrance of the third voice in measure 23. *Death* (ex. 5.21) follows negative B consistently; it contains only one passage (mm. 11–12) when the sixth degree (C) is sharpened to modulate to the relative key. The opening of *Night Rhapsody* (ex. 5.22) follows negative B consistently. It goes through several modulations during measures 11–24 until settling from negative D to the relative key, positive G—a typical modulation also in those works that Mitsukuri recognized adopting the theory—in measures 21–24 (ex. 5.24). Measures 36–38 (ex. 5.23), on the other hand, are in positive D.



Example 5.24 *Night Rhapsody*, mm. 21–24 (Mitsukuri 1957b, 5).
© Ongaku no tomo sha

One cannot avoid noticing the similar use of harmony in Mitsukuri's other works.²⁰⁴ They do contain occasional inconsistencies—but so do those works that Mitsukuri himself recognized as following his theory. *Fallen Leaves*, in particular, is already a rather far-stretched extension of the theory, as are the songs of Type C in *Bashō's Travels*. As in the works adopting the harmony, many passages in other works could be explained logically by simply noting that they undergo several modulations.

These examinations show that far more of Mitsukuri's works are based on his theory than the composer himself recognized. But how should we interpret this observation? To find an answer, let us return to Mitsukuri's writings once more. On several occasions, he stressed how Japanese harmony was something that his "ears demanded hearing" with certain types of melodies (Mitsukuri 1930a, 5; as Akiyoshi 1937b, 28; 1941, 22–23). Does this not suggest that the theory itself is actually based on an "idiomatic" hearing of Japanese melodies? Ultimately, it seems that Mitsukuri's system was not a theory *for* music, but a theory *of* music: that of his own, intuitional musical language for Japanese melodies, which he then processed into the form of a music theory. As Mitsukuri (1930a, 4) stated, his approach was not, indeed, about *creating*, but about *discovering* Japanese harmony.

²⁰⁴ For other examples of consistent adoption of the harmony, see the songs *Cat on a Moonlit Night* (*Tsukiyo no neko*, 1932) and *Fragment* (*Tanshō*, 1931). The first contains slight deviations, but alternates consistently between two relative keys, negative G and positive C, at the end. *Fragment* is nearly wholly in negative A, until it modulates to the parallel key positive A in the very last measures.

In this aspect, Mitsukuri was actually not that far from Kiyose. Both composers were fundamentally intuitional, but whereas Mitsukuri approached his ideas from an analytical viewpoint, seeking to grasp the elements of his musical language, Kiyose remained more ambiguous about his—although, as we will see, he also followed a relatively consistent approach. The intuitional aspect would also explain certain inconsistencies between Mitsukuri's written accounts and his musical work: he simply had not completed the theory so that it could sufficiently cover all uses of his harmony.

What it does not explain adequately, however, is why Mitsukuri recognized the use of his system in only three works. To understand this, the most natural approach is to observe what these three works share in common: in all of them, the use of harmony serves a higher purpose than just accompanying a Japanese melody. In *Sarabanda*, the use of harmony is explained by the binary form in the context of a composition based on classical forms of Western art music, and in *Fallen Leaves*, the unsettling alternation between Western and Japanese harmonies brings instability to the song, which conveys the agonistic atmosphere of the poem. Although the issue of Japanese harmony was a question of national identity for Mitsukuri, its use exemplifies what Mitsukuri himself stated in his original treatise: that all truly national music is international by nature (Mitsukuri 1929, 3).

It is, however, the first composition, *Bashō's Travels*, that most magnificently demonstrates the context where Mitsukuri's theory triumphs. It is the most fitting musical language for a work based on Japanese poetry before the influx of Western culture: while fundamentally representing Western art music, it also simultaneously substitutes its most typical conventions with ones reinterpreted from a Japanese point of view. Rather than exotic, the music is original—indeed becoming a meaningful synthesis of East and West, introducing both aspects in balance. In this aspect, it is no wonder that it still remains Mitsukuri's most well-known composition.

5.2 Kiyose Yasuji: Japanese-style composition as artistic philosophy

Kiyose Yasuji's writings on Japanese-style composition do not reveal as much methodological viewpoints as they echo confusion in the modernizing society. But how does one express such ideas musically? Kiyose himself regarded pentatonic scales and a "simple" or "monotonic" compositional style as important aspects of Japanese-style composition, and as an alternative to Western music theory. Based this, the use of these elements could be an expression—or, at least reflection—of his thought. For example, Hayasaka (1942b, 48) argues that Kiyose adopted pentatonic scales when he wanted to express ideas that were "impossible to convey otherwise." Based on extra-musical contexts—meaning, mostly, titles—of Kiyose's works, Hayasaka (ibid. 49) identified two major styles that Kiyose followed: "lyricism" and "Japanese-

style realism.”²⁰⁵ In this context, it is interesting to observe what types of works Kiyose wrote.

Piano pieces and songs constitute the majority of Kiyose’s prewar work, and most of his compositions are programmatic until 1937. From 1937 onward, however, he also wrote for larger ensembles and debuted in the field of absolute music with works such as *Lento* and *Allegro* for Flute and Piano (1937), *Piano Trio* (1938), and *Woodwind Trio* (1938). The year 1937 thus appears to be a turning point for Kiyose; Togashi (1956, 141) has even argued that *Piano Piece Collection Vol. 2* (1937–1940) “closes the prewar period” in his work. Because of these notable trends in Kiyose’s work, I will focus on three types of composition in this chapter: piano pieces, vocal works, and orchestral compositions.

5.2.1 Piano music

Kiyose began to write piano pieces from an early stage, the first being *Things Crawling Closer Without Sound* (*Oto naku shinobi yoru mono*) in 1925. It is also the only piano piece Kiyose wrote before moving to Tokyo in the same year; like writing, Kiyose began composing more actively from 1930 onward. Rather than being individual works, most of Kiyose’s piano pieces are arranged as collections, such as *Countryside Dances* (*Inaka no odori*, 1931; three pieces), *Dances of Home District* (*Kyōdo buyō*, 1933; three pieces), and *Piano Pieces for Children* (*Kodomo no tame no pianokyoku*, 1936; four pieces).²⁰⁶ Kiyose wrote several works containing the word “dance” (*buyō* or *bukyoku*) in their titles between 1930 and 1936. Otherwise, there are not any recurring themes. *From the Window of a Building* (*Birudingu no mado yori*, 1931) is the only one clearly representing Westernized Japan with its use of the English loanword *birudingu* (building). Works of absolute music, on the other hand, are in the minority, the only ones being *Scherzino* (1928), *Andantino* and *Etude* in *Piano Piece Collection Vol. 2* (1937–1940), and *Sonatine for Piano* (1937), which was premiered only in the 1980s.

In total, 31 of 44 individual pieces between 1930 and 1940 adopt pentatonic scales. If examined closer, 21 (of 29) of these pieces were written prior to 1937, and only 4 (of 15) during or after.²⁰⁷ This also supports the idea of the year 1937 as a turning point. Even though Kiyose did not discuss “pentatonic scales” in detail in his writings, his musical work does present a consistent view. In general, the use of pentatonic scales in his piano works can be classified into three types: 1) those adopting the same scale in both hands; 2) those adopting

²⁰⁵ Hayasaka uses the word *chojōteki* for “lyricism” and *Nihonteki riarisumu* for “Japanese-style realism.”

²⁰⁶ Komiya (1995, 105) lists the pieces *Story Told in the Ear* (*Mimigatari*, 1931), *March* (*Kōshinkyoku*, 1931), *Farewell* (*Owakare*, 1931), *Spring in the Hills* (*Oka no haru*, 1932), and *Two Dances* (*Futatsu no bukyoku*, 1934) as *Piano Piece Collection 1*.

²⁰⁷ When pieces written before 1930 are also included, in total 34 of the 47 individual pieces composed before 1940 adopt pentatonic scales.

the *yonanuki* scale; and 3) those adopting the scales but including considerable deviation compared with the two other types. The pieces do not typically combine pentatonic melodies with Western harmony, but either construct the harmony from the scales adopted, or adopt different scales in right and left hand and become “bipentatonic.” Works adopting the *yonanuki* scale are in minority.

The pentatonic scales that Kiyose’s piano works adopt are those of traditional Japanese music. *Min’yō* and *ritsu* (see ex. 3.1) are the most typical ones, whereas *miyakobushi* is somewhat more uncommon, and *ryūkyū* appears only in *Rūkyū Dances* (*Rūkyū buyō*, 1936). Adoption of the scales applies not only to pitch classes and scale structures: they are handled in a manner resembling traditional music, meaning that they adopt melodic movements in the frame of tetrachords as defined by Koizumi (1958). As Koizumi published his theory only in 1958, this demonstrates a more profound knowledge of traditional music than could be obtained by simply referring to theories of the time.

Spring in the Hills (*Oka no haru*, 1932) is a fitting example of this, as has previously been discussed by Komiya (1976, 104). Even though the key signature suggests A minor, the piece is, however, not composed in a key of Western tonality (ex. 5.25). Instead, Kiyose adopts the pentatonic *min’yō* scale from E (E-G-A-B-D-E; ex. 4.3) throughout the piece in both hands—indeed structuring the harmony from the elements of the melody, as he originally thought that Western harmony was composed (see Hosokawa and Katayama 2008, 237). The only deviation from the *min’yō* scale is a playful chromatic gesture in measures 31–32 (ex. 5.26).

Molto moderato

Example 5.25 *Spring in the Hills*, mm. 1–6 (Kiyose 1935b, 3).
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Example 5.26 *Spring in the Hills*, mm. 31–32 (Kiyose 1935b, 5).
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Spring in the Hills does not only adopt these scales in both hands, but also handles melodies as defined in Koizumi's (1958) theory. This is best illustrated in the end (Komiya 1976, 104). The piece ends on a chord based on A instead of the fundamental E (ex. 5.27).



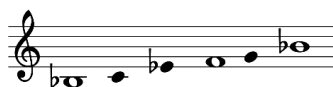
Example 5.27 Ending of *Spring in the Hills* (Kiyose 1935b, 5).
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While this initially appears as a strange practice, it is actually in perfect accordance with the use of scales in traditional Japanese music. Let us examine the structure of the *min'yō* scale from E closer. As can be seen in example 4.3, it includes both E and A as nuclear tones. As melodies in traditional music end on nuclear tones, it is perfectly logical that *Spring in the Hills* ends on A instead of E: it adopts not only the pitch organization of the scale, but also follows the melodic rules of traditional Japanese music. This indicates that Kiyose was, indeed, familiar with traditional music, even though his discussion on “pentatonic scales” was not theoretical or analytical by nature.

Other works involving similar adoption of scales include *Scherzino*, *Chanting* (*Dokyō*, 1933), *Dance of the Seashore* (*Hamabe no odori*, 1932), *Manzai* (1933), *Waltz* (1935), and *Village Festival* (*Mura matsuri*, 1935). For example, *Manzai* from the three-piece collection *Dances of Home District* (1933) resembles *Spring in the Hills* in its approach. The key signature suggests B♭ major, but the beginning measures (ex. 5.28) already demonstrate adoption of the *ritsu* scale from B♭ (ex. 5.29) instead of Western tonality.



Example 5.28 *Manzai*, mm. 1–9 (Kiyose 1965a, 12).
© Kawai gakufu



Example 5.29 *Ritsu* scale from Bb. Note the nuclear tones (Bb and F).

The adoption of the scale as encountered in traditional music is again demonstrated in the ending of the piece (ex. 5.30). *Manzai* ends on F, which is a nuclear tone in the *ritsu* scale. The placement of the middle nuclear tone differs in *min'yō* and *ritsu* scales, which again demonstrates Kiyose's intuitive knowledge of the use of scales in traditional music.



Example 5.30 Ending of *Manzai* (Kiyose 1965a, 16).
© Kawai gakufu

Apart from the approach of adopting the same scale in right and left hands, Kiyose also introduces different scales in both hands in some of his works. An example of this is *Primitive Dance* (*Genshiteki buyō*) from *Dances of Home District*. This can be seen already in the beginning of the work, where the right hand adopts the pentatonic scale A-B-D-E-G-A, while the left hand does not (ex. 5.31).



Example 5.31 *Primitive Dance*, mm. 1–8 (Kiyose 1965b, 3).
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In at least one of his writings, Kiyose (1930b, 17) stated interest in bitonal composition. The approach in *Primitive Dance* indeed represents a type of “bipentatonicism.” The scale in the left hand is actually not a different scale, however, as the dissonances are used as a type of percussive element rather than as a deviation: not only do they stand out from the tonal material, they are also accompanied with the performance instruction *sf*—enhancing the overall “primitive” quality indicated in the title. The scale in the right hand remains consistent until measure 30, from where it goes through modulations until measure 43. After this, the tempo changes to a faster one and both hands begin playing in the same pentatonic key. This also signifies the beginning of the B section. After this, the piece returns to the original melody in measure 82, and eventually ends in a dissonance. In *Primitive Dance*, Kiyose does adopt pentatonic scales, but limits this to the right hand, while the left hand takes different roles during the piece.

A similar device is also encountered in Kiyose’s other piano pieces, including *Bon Dance*, *Humoresque* (1935), *Ancient Dance (Kobuyōkyoku)*, 1935), and the three pieces in *Ryūkyū Dances*. For example, the three pieces in *Ryūkyū Dances* not surprisingly adopt the *ryūkyū* scale, but soon deviate from it. The first piece begins with a melody following the *ryūkyū* scale from A \flat (A \flat -C-D \flat -E \flat -G-A \flat), while using dissonances as a percussive element in the same way as in *Primitive Dance* (ex. 5.32). The first modulation occurs already in measure 5, after which the melody undergoes several modulations. Eventually, the left hand adopts altogether different pitches (ex. 5.33).



Example 5.32 First piece from *Ryūkyū Dances*, mm. 1–4 (Kiyose 1965c, 27). © Kawai gakufu



Example 5.33 First piece from *Ryūkyū Dances*, mm. 29–32 (Kiyose 1965c, 29). © Kawai gakufu

By comparison, Kiyose wrote only a few piano works adopting Western tonality. The four-piece collection *Piano Pieces for Children* is exceptional in that it follows the *yonanuki* scale. Another example is the mazurka-like *Lonely Dance* (*Kodokuna odori*, 1934) which is based on the use of tonic and dominant in B \flat major (ex. 5.34). Accordingly, melodies end on either the first or fifth degree. Note, however, how Kiyose still avoids using clear-cut harmonies by using open chords and beginning the piece on the dominant.



Example 5.34 *Lonely Dance*, mm. 1–8 (Kiyose 1974a, 27).
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While being only few examples, these pieces demonstrate that pentatonic scales are a fundamental element in Kiyose's piano works. He proves much more profound knowledge of their use than his writings reveal. But what about the "monotony" that Kiyose also regarded as a fundamental aspect of

Japanese-style composition? As an aesthetic quality, a “simple” or “monotonic” style is somewhat more difficult to define than pentatonic scales, whose use is easy to observe in melodic material. However, a certain plainness is indeed evident in much of Kiyose’s work. For example, Hayasaka (1942a, 64) notes that Kiyose’s compositions seldom require virtuosic technique. A fitting example of a somewhat monotonic approach is *Early Spring* (*Sōshun*, 1931), in which the left hand mostly repeats the same note, and the melody is mostly fixed on G# (ex. 5.35). This changes only with the beginning of the B section in measure 33—which is again based on another kind of repetitiveness of material (ex. 5.36).



Example 5.35 *Early Spring*, mm. 1–8 (Kiyose 1974b, 5).
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Example 5.36 *Early Spring*, mm. 33–42 (Kiyose 1974b, 6).
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Several other pieces are also based on repetitions of melodies or rhythm; for example, *Andantino* from *Piano Piece Collection Vol. 2* (ex. 5.37).



Example 5.37 *Andantino*, mm. 1–10 (Kiyose 1960, 46).

© Ongaku no tomo sha

Note also the other examples above: all of them are based on a relatively sparse use of material and repetition in at least one of the hands. Kiyose (1936a, 14), however, asserted that Japanese music was not merely “simple,” but incorporates a vast spectrum of subtle nuances on the inside, even when seemingly monotonic on the outside. These “subtle nuances” in Kiyose’s work are found in minor changes that the repeated passages of melodies undergo. In many works, the left hand of the piano in particular repeats the very same—or similar—patterns several times and presents only few harmonic changes.

Based on Kiyose’s piano compositions, the concept of monotony is present in four characteristics: 1) repetitiveness, 2) limited development of material and few harmonic changes, 3) simplicity of form, and 4) use of pentatonic scales. Kiyose discussed Japanese music as being “simple” or “monotonic” when comparing Japanese-style music with Western—namely German-style—composition, and opposed the adoption of Western harmony in favor of pentatonic scales. In this context, “Japanese” is primarily defined against “Western:” it is the quality that distinguishes two musical styles. Rather than harmony, Kiyose was particular about scales and melodies: the (“simple”) pentatonic scales and sparse use of material distinguished his approach from Western music. Kiyose’s piano pieces are also relatively short and have not been structured to large-scale Western forms, such as sonatas. The only exception is the 1937 Piano Sonata, which, however, does not adopt the classical sonata form. In this sense, monotony was ultimately an aesthetic quality distinguishing Japanese-style composition from Western music.

Despite Kiyose’s avid discussion on the importance of preserving traditional Japanese culture, the titles of his most piano pieces do not suggest particularly Japanese themes. For example, titles such as *Sad Song* (*Kanashii uta*, 1931), *Spring in the Hills*, and *Early Spring* do not connect directly with Japanese culture or traditions.²⁰⁸ Consequently, one cannot typically judge

²⁰⁸ However, the titles do not necessarily explicitly mention a “Japanese” theme, although being based on Japanese culture. For example, *Story of a Northern Country*

whether Kiyose's works include Japanese elements or not based on the titles. There is, however, one exception to this: the "dances." *Dances of Home District* and *Ryūkyū Dances* suggest a Japanese theme in the titles of the individual pieces, as also in the case of *Countryside Dances* (consisting of three untitled pieces); it seems logical that Kiyose, who discussed Japanese culture as a "culture of the countryside," would also introduce this aspect in his musical work. In total, there are 15 individual "dances" among Kiyose's piano works before 1940.²⁰⁹ With the exception of *Ryūkyū Dances*, however, most of them were written before 1936.²¹⁰

Even with their shared theme, however, the dances also introduce different musical approaches. Whereas titles such as *Bon Dance*²¹¹ refer to traditional customs, *Lonely Dance* does not suggest a Japanese theme and, furthermore, adopts Western functional harmony. Kiyose's works discussed above already demonstrate the composer's interest in an overall Japanese idiom of composition, but the "dance" pieces offer a further important viewpoint on Kiyose's musical language. Even though some of these works suggest a specific theme, they do not allude to any specific genre of Japanese traditional music, but rather seem to aim at evoking the mood of these kinds of festivities. A fitting example is the third piece in *Countryside Dances*, with its lively syncopation that does not resemble any particular genre of traditional music (ex. 5.38).



Example 5.38 Third piece from *Countryside Dances*, mm. 1–6 (Kiyose 1965d, 33). © Kawai gakufu

(*Kitaguni no monogatari*, 1931) refers to Morioka in the northern part of Japan (Kiyose 1974c, 37)—not a “northern country” outside Japan.

²⁰⁹ The pieces are: *Choreographic Poem Shadow* (*Buyōshi kage*, 1928); *Countryside Dances* (two pieces); *Dance of the Seashore*; *Dances of Home District* (*Primitive Dance*, *Bon Dance*, and *Manzai*); *Lonely Dance*; *Two Dances* (*Bukyoku nikyoku*; without titles, 1934); *Ryūkyū Dances* (three pieces); and *Ancient Dance*. *Waltz* is undeniably a dance, but not included in this listing, as the words *buyō* and *bukyoku* seem to carry a more Japanese tone in Kiyose's work.

²¹⁰ An individual work suggesting a Japanese theme is *Village Festival*.

²¹¹ The *Bon* dance is a dance performed during the *bon* festivities in Japan in August.

The lack of specific allusions is encountered in other works as well. For example, Kiyose (1974c, 37) described how *Chanting* is a mixture of Satie’s humor and the way that Buddhist chanting sounded in his ears when he was a child. The piece thus alludes to the Buddhist *shōmyō* chant, but the musical material does resemble it (compare ex. 5.39 with the tranquil atmosphere of *shōmyō*)—particularly because of the time signature 3/4, which is not met in Buddhist chant.



Example 5.39 *Chanting*, mm. 1–11. Source (Kiyose 1974d, 17).
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Still, there are also musical similarities between Kiyose’s work and Japanese folk songs. For example, compare works such as *Primitive Dance* with “Nanakusa” (ex. 5.40) from Iwate Prefecture.²¹² Not only is the mood similar, the melody also mostly focuses on one pitch and varies only a little. This is most likely what Kiyose meant with musical “monotony” or “simplicity” in folk songs, although it is a quality not that apparent in all of his work (compare ex. 5.40 with the examples above).



Example 5.40 “Nanakusa” (Koizumi 1984, 70).

Togashi (1956, 140) and Akiyama (1979, 11–12) have noted that while Kiyose composed “folk-like” music, he did not quote folk song melodies, but sought

²¹² “Nanakusa” is only one example among many others; for more transcriptions of folk songs, see Koizumi (1984) or Mikado (2004).

to evoke their *spirit* in his music. I would argue that this observation sums up the compositional philosophy of Kiyose's piano pieces in general. Rather than imitating any specific genres, they aim at capturing the mood of traditional music—in a sense, presenting aspects of the original material in a new context. This is further backed up by the fact Kiyose's work does not imitate Japanese instruments with Western ones. It is also important that even though Kiyose did not discuss the use of pentatonic scales or "simplicity" in more detail, his piano pieces present a consistent approach adopted in a manner that resembles traditional music.

This began to change at the late 1930s, however. For example, pieces such as *Burlesque* and *Etude* (in *Piano Piece Collection Vol. 2*, 1937–1940) contain virtuosity and harmonies not encountered in Kiyose's previous works for the piano. These became typical elements in Kiyose's works in the 1940s; for example, *Ballade* (1943) demonstrates structural complexity not present in earlier works. At the same time, however, they mark a change of style in that notably fewer pieces adopt pentatonic scales or refer to Japanese themes. This change is discussed further below.

5.2.2 Vocal music

Kiyose's piano pieces already provide a sufficient perspective on how pentatonic scales and simplicity take form in his work. Therefore, this section on his vocal works focuses more on other approaches to Japanese-style composition. The most obvious difference between piano and vocal works is, of course, the existence of a text in songs. Based on his interest in folk songs (Kiyose 1933b, 18), one could assume that Kiyose was the composer of *shin min'yō*. However, whereas many of Kiyose's piano works refer to Japanese customs in their titles, programs associable specifically with Japanese culture are virtually non-existent in his songs. This suggests that Kiyose did not need a program to "justify" Japanese-style composition: the qualities that he considered "Japanese" were fundamental to his musical language in general.

Of the 19 songs that Kiyose wrote between 1922 and 1925, only one is not based on pentatonic scales at least in the melody.²¹³ A perfect example of Kiyose's early style is *Travel Sleeping (Tabine, 1922)*—the song that caused him a shock when he noticed that he had unconsciously adopted a pentatonic

²¹³ The 19 songs were later compiled as *Song Collection No. 1*. Four songs contain some deviations from pentatonic scales, however very minor. These songs are: *When Night Has Fallen, I Can Sing My Song of Grief* (*Yofukashite utaeru waga nageki no uta*, 1922), *Days of my Youth 3* (*Shōnen no hi 3*, 1922), *Tears* (*Namida*, 1922), and *Night Has Fallen, I Can Sing* (*Yofukete utaeru*, 1924). The song not adopting pentatonic scales is *From the Open Sea* (*Oki no hō kara*; 沖の方から, 1923). Even in this case, Kiyose (1972a, 154) reminisced that he wanted to compose a song adopting scales reminiscent of Okinawan and Romany music—meaning that the choice to use a non-Japanese scale was conscious. The melody resembles the *ryūkyū* scale of Okinawan music, but does not follow it consistently. The character for *oki* (open sea) is used also in the name of Okinawa.

scale.²¹⁴ *Travel Sleeping* suggests elements of functional harmony, but presents them with pentatonic melodies in a somewhat confusing manner. This is apparent already in the opening of the song (ex. 5.41).

Lento tranquillo ♩ = 58

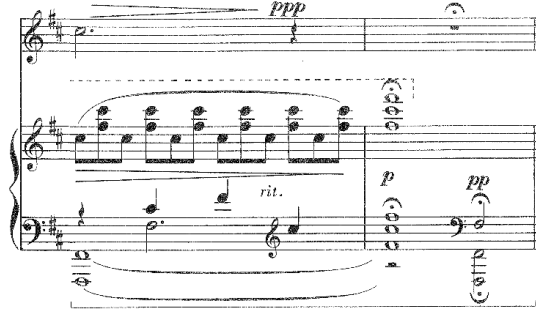
Example 5.41 *Travel Sleeping*, mm. 1–9; words omitted (Kiyose 1972b, 39). © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

The first four measures suggest B minor, but the tonic triad with B as its root is presented only in measure four, which also ends with a dominant chord—however lacking the third. From measure five onward, open chords become fewer, suggesting that the piece is in B minor. This confirms that the pentatonic scale adopted is *yananuki*, and indeed, the song alternates between B minor and E minor *yananuki* scales.

Travel Sleeping also shows sensitivity to the use of scales in traditional Japanese music, however. B minor *yananuki* is composed of two *miyakobushi* tetrachords F#-G-B and C#-D-F#. And indeed, the very beginning of the song emphasizes F#—the “first degree” of the traditional scale—instead of B. The song also ends on an open chord on F# (ex. 5.42). Although Kiyose added the

²¹⁴ *Travel Sleeping* was not the only one: *Child and Mother* (*Warabe to haha*, 1922) also adopted pentatonic scales. Kiyose (1972a, 152) later suggested that noticing this was also part of the shock that he experienced.

piano part only later (Komiya 1995, 104), it is this later version that perfectly reflects the contradiction and shock he experienced: *Travel Sleeping* fluctuates between two different musical logics without being based on either one entirely.²¹⁵



Example 5.42 *Travel Sleeping*, mm. 33–34, words omitted (Kiyose 1972b, 41). © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

Travel Sleeping and other early songs exemplify the style in Kiyose's works of the 1930s. Of the 25 pieces compiled as *Song Collection Vol. 2* (works from 1928–1941), only eight do not adopt pentatonic scales.²¹⁶ However, examining the years of composition more closely leads to an interesting observation: of the eight songs not adopting pentatonic scales, six were composed after 1932. To be more exact, of the nine songs composed between 1932 and 1941, only two adopt pentatonic scales—signifying a change in Kiyose's style. Furthermore, some pentatonic melodies in the vocal parts are accompanied by piano parts based on modal practices rather than scales of traditional music. This further shows that the role of pentatonic scales became altogether less important in Kiyose's vocal works.

Let us first examine those works where Kiyose uses elements we are already familiar with. Whereas Mitsukuri's *Bashō's Travels* pays very careful attention to conveying contents of the poems in musical terms and suggesting interpretations of the texts, Kiyose's vocal works are more like character pieces. They do pay attention to the program, but do not introduce changes in the musical material upon changes in the poem. An example crystallizing this approach is *Marble* (*Nameishi*, 1930), based on a poem by Kitahara Hakushū

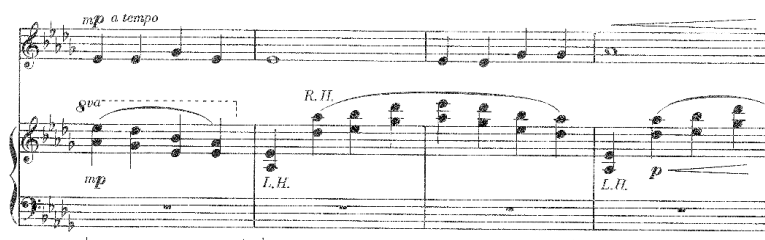
²¹⁵ A similar approach is met in some songs in Komatsu Kiyoshi's collection *Nine Tanka Poems* (*Neuf tankas*, 1924–1931), for example in the second poem. Komatsu, however, uses this as a “musical translation,” that is, presenting Japanese poems translated into French in a musical language combining both Japanese and European aspects. Other songs in the collection, as well, synthesize French Impressionism with Japanese scales.

²¹⁶ Even these eight songs do adopt pentatonic scales in many passages; they do not, however, adopt them consistently. Examples of songs adopting pentatonic scales only partially are *Yokusen Melancholy* (*Yokusen shūjō*, 1928) and *Flute* (*Fue*, 1932). The songs not adopting pentatonic scales are: *Grass Leaves* (*Kusa no ha*, 1930), *Spinning Doll* (*Rasen ningyō*, 1932), *Letter from the Sea* (*Umi no tegami*, 1932), *Play* (*Asobi*, 1933), *Loneliness of Ten Thousand Men* (*Mannin no kodoku*, 1935), and *Ancestor's Blood* (*Sosen no chishio*, 1941).

(北原白秋, 1885–1942).²¹⁷ The piano part consists of a descending and ascending gesture in the right hand, which retains its character throughout the piece with only minor variation, which always signifies the beginning of a new verse (examples 5.43–5.45). This is a natural approach to the poem, which is divided into three verses that begin with the same words each time. The vocal part—which remains almost unchanged throughout the song—is based on the *min'yō* scale from Eb (Eb–Gb–Ab–Bb–Db–Eb).



Example 5.43 *Marble*, mm. 5–8; piano part same as in mm. 1–12, words omitted (Kiyose 1972c, 76). © Zenon gakufu shuppansha



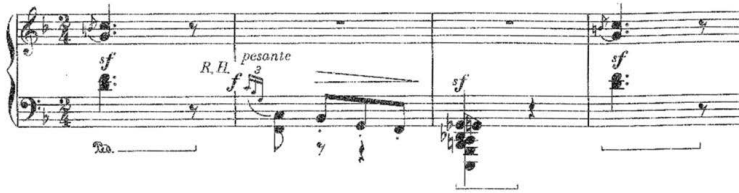
Example 5.44 *Marble*, mm. 13–16; piano part same as in mm. 13–20, words omitted (Kiyose 1972c, 77). © Zenon gakufu shuppansha



Example 5.45 *Marble*, mm. 21–24, words omitted (Kiyose 1972c, 77). © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

²¹⁷ *Nameishi* means a polished stone. Kitahara's poem, however, uses the writing 大理石 (*dairiseki*), meaning marble. Kitahara also uses the reading "nameishi" for 大理石 in other poems, such as *Inside My Dreams* (*Yume no oku*).

The song echoes the observations previously made about Kiyose's piano pieces: the material is repetitive and its use is sparse, and the sung melody is based on a pentatonic scale. The music focuses on conveying its atmosphere rather than following its content word by word. From 1930 onward, however, Kiyose's works introduce more versatile approaches. In many songs, the piano part receives more independence, not being solely an unchanging element accompanying the vocal part. This approach is met in works such as *Candy Shop of the Old Man* (*Yōrō ameya*; 養老飴屋, 1930) with its long piano interludes and *Bear Cubs in the Park* (*Kōen no kuma no ko*, 1930), in which the playful opening of the piano introduces musical ideas not later encountered in the vocal part (ex. 5.46).



Example 5.46 Opening of the piano part in *Bear Cubs in the Park*, mm. 1–4 (Kiyose 1972d, 78). © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

Some songs contain more complex approaches, to the degree that it is difficult to consider them “monotonic.” An example is *The Youths by the Sea* (*Umi no wakamono*, 1933), composed to a poem by Satō Haruo (佐藤春夫, 1892–1963). It is a work which even Kiyose (1972a, 164) described as “dramatic.” The beginning introduces a ponderous mood, which is in contrast with the poem’s light-hearted contents describing young persons raised by the sea (ex. 5.47).²¹⁸ However, the seemingly cheerful poem ends with the death—possibly suicide—of one among them. The mood of the opening is explained in measures 35–42: they present the same gesture in the left hand of the piano with a heavier manner, while describing how one of the youths walked into the sea (ex. 5.48)—revealing that the gesture symbolizes heavy steps.

²¹⁸ Compare with Ōnaka Megumi’s (大中恩, b. 1924) choir composition to the same poem, which begins with a light-hearted character but ends in a grave mood.



Example 5.47 *The Youths by the Sea*, mm. 1–8; words omitted (Kiyose 1972e, 106). © Zenon gakufu shuppansha



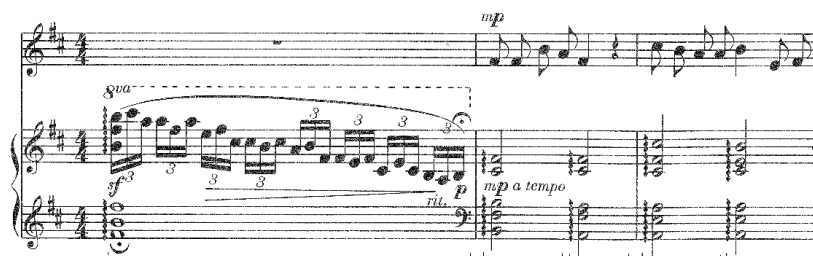
Example 5.48 *The Youths by the Sea*, mm. 39–41; words omitted (Kiyose 1972e, 108). © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

Kiyose's way of conveying the poem musically in *The Youths by the Sea* is much more detailed than in his earlier songs, but it also raises a question considering Japanese elements. The sung part faithfully adopts pentatonic scales throughout the piece; in the beginning, for example, the melody is based on *min'yō* scale from C# (C#-E-F#-G#-B-C#). The piano part, however, follows modal practices. In the beginning, it is based on Lydian mode from D and later on Dorian from E. Later, the pentatonic scale adopted in the sung melody (E-F#-G-B-C#-E) makes a deviation from Koizumi's tetrachords. The scale could be formed with tetrachords as a disjunctive combination of *miyakobushi* (F#-G-B) and *min'yō* (C#-E-F#), but the use of the scale clearly suggests E as the fundamental instead of F#. Therefore, it is a "*yonanuki*" scale on Dorian mode from E—with *yonanuki* defined here with its literate meaning: omission of the fourth and seventh.

Above all, *The Youths by the Sea* is a musical work situated in-between different tonal practices, in the same manner as *Travel Sleeping*. Whereas the

latter synthesizes elements of Western harmony with pentatonic scales, however, *The Youths by the Sea* discards functional harmony and suggests a musical approach between Japanese scales and church modes—an influence which Kiyose (1932c, 14) stated interest in. In a sense, it opens a new path deviating from Western tonality altogether—something that takes place in many of Kiyose’s vocal works of the 1930s. *Spinning Doll* (*Rasen ningyō*, 1932), for example, is chromatic to the point of becoming atonal.

In general, Kiyose applies more complex harmonies than in his earlier songs from 1932 onward. This is exemplified in *Flute* (*Fue*, 1932). The song begins with a gesture imitating flute playing and resembles Kiyose’s earlier pentatonic works as the vocal part enters in measure two (ex. 5.49). However, it becomes more chromatic in the middle and ends in a manner with no connection to Kiyose’s earlier, pentatonic style (ex. 5.50).²¹⁹



Example 5.49 *Flute*, mm. 1–3; words omitted (Kiyose 1972f, 114).
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Example 5.50 *Flute*, mm. 11–13; words omitted (Kiyose 1972f, 114).
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One explanation for this change is that Kiyose became more interested in modernist composition; he was, after all, among the founders of the highly avant-gardist School of New Music in 1934. However, I do not find this explanation altogether satisfactory, as the change is not that apparent in

²¹⁹ Another similar piece is *Loneliness of Ten Thousand Men* (*Mannin no kodoku*, 1935), which contains many pentatonic passages but then changes to a more chromatic style.

Kiyose's piano works. For example, he was still writing piano pieces such as *Spring in the Hills*, adopting a consistent pentatonic approach, in 1932; the style of Kiyose's piano music changed only in 1937. Based on this, it seems that vocal music was simply the first medium in Kiyose's work suggesting a general change of style. Later vocal works, such as *Ancestors' Blood* (*Sosen no chishio*, 1941), contain complex forms, dramatic devices, and the use of declamation. In this sense, Kiyose's vocal music follows the same stylistic development as his piano pieces eventually did: whereas his earlier songs are character pieces like his piano works, the later ones demonstrate more complexity and sensitivity to the poems. Before this general change can be discussed further, there is still one work type that needs to be discussed, as it again introduces a new aspect of Kiyose's music.

5.2.3 Orchestral works

Hayasaka (1942b, 53) commended Kiyose's orchestral works by stating that they echo the "timelessness and lyricism" of *gagaku* and represent the "eternity" of Japanese aesthetic concepts.²²⁰ These characterizations are so unfit to describe Kiyose's miniature piano and vocal works that they suggest significant differences. In this context, it hardly seems a coincidence that the year 1937—which marked a turning point of Kiyose's compositional style—is also when he seriously began to compose for the orchestra (Togashi 1956, 142).²²¹

The contrast is not yet that apparent in Kiyose's first orchestral composition of this period: *Elegy—Dedicated to My Deceased Mother* (*Banka—Naki haha ni sasagu*, 1937), written to commemorate the memory of Kiyose's mother, who had passed away in 1936. The work in ABA' form evokes a dark and ponderous atmosphere in a neo-romantic idiom. While this is different from most of Kiyose's earlier works, the context of *Elegy* as a requiem obviously explains this; a similarly tranquil and dark mood is encountered already in the piano piece *Sorrow* (*Aishū*, 1931). The A and A' sections in *Elegy* adopt a pentatonic scale (B-C#-D-F#-G#-B), but rather than a Japanese scale, it is the "Dorian *yonanuki*" discussed with *The Youths by the Sea*. The mood changes with the beginning of the brief B section, which adopts the pitch organization and melodic rules of the *ritsu* scale (F#-G#-B-C#-D#-F#) and makes use of syncopations reminiscent of those in Kiyose's dance-like works for the piano. By this, it presents a more "Japanese" mood than the A section. After a brief section in a minor key developing the A theme, the work returns to material of the A section in A' section. Stylistically, *Elegy* is not radically

²²⁰ These include concepts such as *wabi-sabi* and *mono no aware*. According to Galliano (2002, 133–134), Hayasaka was one of the very few composers to refer to concepts such as these in the prewar period.

²²¹ Apparently, Kiyose had already written some orchestral works before this (Komiya 1999, 153). Narazaki's (1994, 288–289) list of orchestral performances, however, does not list these works but begins with *To Ancient Times* (*Kodai ni yosu*, 1937).

different from Kiyose's works for smaller ensembles. The use of the orchestra, however, brings a fullness to the musical language in place of the sparse use of tonal material encountered in the works for smaller ensembles. *Elegy* suggests that Kiyose was an experienced orchestrator and had also composed for the orchestra prior to this work—possibly during his lessons with Pringsheim.

The three-movement composition *To Ancient Times* (*Kodai ni yosu*, 1937) takes the differences further: it is written in a style that shares only a few attributes with Kiyose's previous works. The word *kodai* (ancient times) was used in titles of many other works of the period; for example, in Hirao Kishio's *Adagio Mood on an Ancient Melody* (*Kodai no senritsu ni yoru kanjochō*, 1935)²²² and Hayasaka's *Ancient Dances* (*Kodai no bukyoku*, 1937) (Omura 2011b, 4). Kiyose's aim was to portray a "primitive and energetic Japan prior to the adoption of Buddhism" (see *ibid.*). Buddhism arrived in Japan in the year 538 along with other influences from the mainland, *gagaku* among them. As all genres of traditional Japanese music mentioned in Chapter 3.4 originated after this, alluding to them would unavoidably present an "incorrect" historical view. Possibly because of this, the work does not adopt pentatonic scales, nor does it express the simplicity of Kiyose's piano pieces and songs.

To Ancient Times comprises three movements: Introduction (*jokyoku*), Dance (*bukyoku*), and Finale (*shūkyoku*). Introduction makes use of atonality and crisp dissonances not met in Kiyose's previous work, and the mood is overall anxious and intense, with only little stability or repetition. Dance, the middle movement, presents aggressive rhythms by utilizing the brass and percussion sections, whereas Finale is more tranquil, lyrical, and melancholic than the preceding movements, and makes use of harmonies reminiscent of those in *Elegy*. Above all, *To Ancient Times* demonstrates how significant the "simple" quality and the use of pentatonic scales are in Kiyose's works; their absence makes his work appear as a composition by an altogether different composer.

Both *Elegy* and *To Ancient Times*, however, introduce extra-musical themes that—at least partly—explain the choice for a compositional idiom different from most of Kiyose's earlier work. To demonstrate that Kiyose's compositional style indeed changed in orchestral works, let us finally examine a work that clearly connects with a Japanese theme: *Japanese Festival Dances* (*Nihon sairei bukyoku*, 1940/42), composed to celebrate the 2600th anniversary of the founding of the Japanese empire in 1940.²²³ *Japanese Festival Dances* do not refer to any extra-musical phenomena in their titles, but are accompanied with the tempo markings *Moderato*, *Lento tranquillo*, and *Allegro*. Considering the title of the whole work, however, it is not surprising that each movement alludes to Japanese dance traditions musically.

²²² *Kanjo* (緩徐), although used very seldom today, is the Japanese translation for *adagio*. The work was later retitled as *Ancient Hymn* (*Kodai sankā*).

²²³ Kiyose wrote the work originally as *Suite of Japanese Dances* (*Nihon buyō kumikyoku*), but separated the first three movements of this five-movement work as in 1942. This is the version most commonly known today, and the one discussed here.

The first and third movements resemble each other notably in this aspect. The first movement uses the tambourine and high-pitched flutes in a manner resembling music performed in Japanese village festivals with the *taiko* drum and the *yokobue* traverse flute. The same sonic landscape of folk festivals is evoked in the third movement, with its dance-like mood.²²⁴ Both the first and third movements adopt pentatonic scales and are repetitive in nature, which makes them stylistically similar to Kiyose's earlier work—including his several “dance” compositions for the piano—even with the orchestra introducing more fullness to the material than the works for smaller ensembles.

The second movement, however, is very curious. It not only introduces distinctive elements from traditional music—a device seldom met in Kiyose's previous compositions—but also uses materials from *gagaku*, and more precisely, *bugaku*, or dance accompanied with *gagaku* music. The opening passage with clusters by the strings are reminiscent of the *aitake* chords (ex. 3.4), whereas the three-note patterns by the harp imitate the plucked strings in *gagaku*, and the percussions occasionally adopt patterns with gradually quickening tempo, reminiscent of the *jo-ha-kyū* rhythms (see Chapter 3.4) in *gagaku*. The middle section of the movement imitates rhythms in *bugaku*. In this aspect, the second movement resembles the *gagaku*-like harmonies and aesthetics in Hayasaka's works.²²⁵ Even with the direct allusions to *gagaku*, however, the second movement is not an imitation: the work evokes a *bugaku*-like mood that has undergone a transformation into Kiyose's musical language. This aspect also resembles the approach in the first and third movements.

Still, the genre of inspiration is entirely different and even surprising—not least because Kiyose (1936a, 13) originally did not even consider *gagaku* Japanese, because of its Chinese roots, and often emphasized his love for folk traditions (1932c, 14) rather than court nobility. The choice is, however, explained by the compositional context. As *Japanese Festival Dances* was written to celebrate the founding of the Japanese empire, and *gagaku* is the music associated with the imperial court, it is not surprising that he adopted influences from that genre. This functioned, without a doubt, as a method of underlining the long tradition of Japanese culture, which was an important aspect of the festivities of 1940.

Kiyose's orchestral works provide an interesting and complementary viewpoint on his work, but their different nature compared with his earlier compositions is puzzling: it is almost as if they were written by a different composer. The orchestral works are, in this sense, his metamorphosis: they finally exercise the modern compositional techniques—such as atonality—that he claimed to advocate already in his earliest writings. At the same time, however, there are also other fundamental differences. *Japanese Festival Dances*, for example, adopts a classical structure of Western art music—that

²²⁴ The mood in both movements is similar to the second movement *Fête (Matsuri)* of Ifukube Akira's *Japanese Rhapsody (Nihon kyōshikyoku, 1935)*.

²²⁵ By comparison, listen to Hayasaka's *Ancient Dances*, composed three years before Kiyose's work.

of fast, slow, and fast movements, and moreover, the second movement alludes directly to *gagaku*. The changes that took place in Kiyose's work are best understood by examining the nature of all of his work as a whole.

5.2.4 The Japanese idiom of composition as an expression of Kiyose's thought

Not surprisingly, Kiyose's musical works echo his writings that put emphasis on reevaluating and "taking back" traditional Japanese culture, which had been neglected during the most avid years of Westernization. He stated that he wanted to express the surrounding Japanese reality—that is, the Japanese culture and way of life instead of the Western one—through his musical works (Kiyose 1937). Kiyose's early work reflects this essence, and suggests social commentary through musical devices: the opposition to Western hegemony by presenting elements of traditional culture in the notation and instrumentation of Western music (Lehtonen 2015b, 8). Not only is this an interesting reflection of Japanese society of the time, these works, in a sense, also reinterpret practices of traditional music and thereby represent "modern" composition in the context of Western art music, by following a music theory alien to classical Western practices. Kiyose's writings were perhaps not analytical, but what he failed to describe in words, he does present in music consistently. Still, he did not compose music imitating its distinctive aspects, but rather adapted certain characteristics in his work. Therefore, it seems that he was on the quest of creating a Japanese idiom of composition that corresponds to Bartók's (1976, 343–344) idea of a "genuine" national style that does not quote or modify folk songs, but manages to capture their spirit. In this sense, Kiyose communicated and asserted ideological views through artistic expression.

In this context, however, Kiyose's works of the late 1930s appear even more peculiar. The decrease in the use of pentatonic scales and monotony is apparent already in works of the mid-1930s, and becomes impossible to ignore by 1937. *Japanese Festival Dances* with its allusions to *gagaku*, in particular, seems to defy all of the ideals that Kiyose asserted in his writings and developed in his musical works over the course of a decade. Kiyose's writings are of little help in explaining this change. One of his most fierce defenses of Japanese-style composition and Japanese culture dates from 1937 (Kiyose 1937), and his later writings also do not suggest such a significant change (Kiyose 1938a-b; 1939).

There are two possible explanations for this change. One is Kiyose's personal development as a composer. By "development," I do not mean to imply "progress," but a change from one style to another. The other has to do with the development of Japanese music in general. 1937 became the year which changed Japanese society irrevocably, with the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War. At the same time, composers were encouraged to

participate in fostering nationalism by musical means. This resulted in a situation where pentatonic scales were also used for nationalist composition.

For a composer who associated their use with the Japanese way of life, and did not want to connect them with either right-wing or left-wing ideologies (Kiyose 1937, 8), the use of pentatonic scales in a nationalist context—or in works written solely to apply to foreign audiences—must have been disappointing. This could explain the fading away of pentatonic scales in Kiyose’s work; it also suggests that the Japanese idiom of composition and the concept of nationalism were not seen as associated in his work. Against this background, I do not find it so surprising that Kiyose’s only work suggesting nationalism—*Japanese Festival Dances*—is also among the very few works to include distinctive allusions to traditional music, and furthermore adopts elements from a genre that he otherwise did not even necessarily consider Japanese. Even Kiyose, a “person of nature” (Kiyose 1937, 8; Hayasaka 1942a, 62), ultimately had to compromise his compositional ideals to suit the requirements for the nationalist music of the time. In this way, *Japanese Festival Dances* is, paradoxically, not a work associating, but rather detaching “true” Japanese compositional idiom and nationalism.

Whereas Kiyose’s work and thought ultimately reflect both their time and the composer’s thought, his musical approach also left its mark on the history of music in Japan. Kiyose saw that Japanese music was fundamentally complex and rich because of subtle nuances that were—according to him—incomprehensible to anyone other than the Japanese. This essentialistic juxtaposition of Japan and the West resembles the *nihonjinron* discourse of the postwar period, but at the same time, I find that it does reflect several interesting viewpoints. It is true that tone colors and timbre are more important parameters in traditional Japanese music than in German-style composition, which, for Kiyose, represented “the West” in musical terms; likewise, it is not surprising that the composer who grew up listening to traditional music was more interested in timbre than functional harmony.

In Kiyose’s time, however, these views were not that evident. For example, Sunaga (1934) and Tanabe (1919; 1937) did not discuss the importance of timbre in Japanese music, nor did any other of the other composers in this study. Kiyose’s thought was eventually echoed in the numerous postwar writings on the Japanese sensitivity to tone colors and timbres (see, for example, Tsunoda 1978 and Kikkawa 1980). Many postwar Japanese composers, as well, have regarded sensitivity to tone colors and timbres as a specifically “Japanese” element.²²⁶ Among them was Takemitsu Tōru—a pupil of Kiyose and Hayasaka. Although Takemitsu is very often characterized as a self-taught composer, and his lessons with Kiyose described as discussions on artistic expression rather than lessons in compositional techniques (e.g. Sano 2011, 178–179), it would seem likely that he was influenced by his teacher’s musical—and possibly also ideological—views. An obvious early example of

²²⁶ See more on this in Chapter 3.4.

this is Takemitsu's pentatonic piano piece *Romance* (1948–49), a work dedicated to Kiyose. Should the idea of sensitivity to tone colors and timbres in Takemitsu's thought also be an influence from Kiyose even partially, his compositional ideals, which were molded by the complexities of prewar Japan, eventually found a role in one of the most recognized musical expressions of Japan in the twentieth century.

5.3 Hashimoto Kunihiro—from voice of the people to nationalism of the state

Hashimoto was a versatile composer with interests in several styles of music.²²⁷ The aspects that he emphasized in his writings—the importance of modern expression and composing “for the people”—are apparent in his Japanese-style work, even to the point that they seem to communicate ideas contradictory with each other. Whereas Hashimoto used elements from traditional music as modern expression and imitated Japanese folk songs in his *shin min'yō*, he also utilized Japanese elements to support state nationalism during the war. This not only demonstrates that Japanese elements can be put to different uses even in the work of one composer, but also raises the question of whether the use of these influences changed depending on the context of the work.

Even though Hashimoto rarely wrote about Japanese-style composition, a characteristic that nevertheless remarkably eases the task of identifying Japanese elements in his music is the programmatic nature of his work. He wrote numerous songs, as well as some cantatas and works for the stage. Most of his works of absolute music, such as *Gavotte* (1924) and *Impromptu* (1924), emerged in the very beginning of his compositional career, and his later works of absolute music often have a compositional context suggesting a theme. One example is Symphony No. 1, composed for the festivities of 1940. Other works propose a musical context in the title, such as *Mozart-Style Rondino* (*Mozaatofuu no rondiino*, 1927). In general, Hashimoto wrote only very few works of music not hinting at any context, and this applies to his works including Japanese elements as well.

Saegusa (2010) has divided Hashimoto's career into five creative periods: 1) the period of practicing composition and learning music (4/1923–6/1928), 2) the years of active composing, becoming an associate professor at the Tokyo Academy of Music, and writing popular songs for Victor (7/1928–12/1934), 3) the years spent in Europe (1/1935–3/1937), 4) the war period (4/1937–8/1945), and 5) the postwar period (9/1945–5/1949). The division is based on both the style that Hashimoto wrote music in, and the events that affected his life and work. For example, Hashimoto's first works in the French Impressionist style mark the beginning of the second period, and the end of

²²⁷ Sections of this chapter have previously been published in *Musiikki* 45 (2) (Lehtonen 2015a). They are reproduced here with permission from the journal.

World War II marks the beginning of the fifth period. This serves as a practical division when discussing the Japanese elements in Hashimoto's work, as it allows us to examine how they were used in various ways in different periods. For the purposes of this study, however, it is most convenient to approach Hashimoto's work in two separate periods: before he left for Europe in 1935, and after coming back in 1937. This not only divides the discussion into two distinctive periods, but also demonstrates how the style of a composer can undergo a thorough ideological change in a short period of time.

5.3.1 Hashimoto's works until 1935

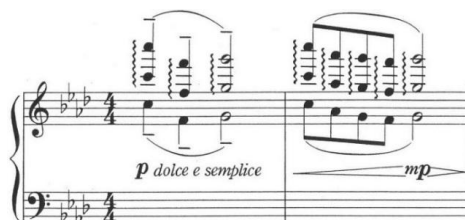
Influences from traditional Japanese music are a notable element in Hashimoto's work before 1935. Shibaïke (1996, 259–260), for example, has identified Japanese scales in 18 of the 46 songs that he wrote before 1935. I would like to raise the number to 19 with *Dance (Mai, 1929)*, a work discussed below.²²⁸ That is, nearly half of Hashimoto's songs until 1935 adopted Japanese scales, which suggests that Japanese elements were a more important influence for Hashimoto than his writings reveal. His participation in the Shin Min'yō movement, for example, perfectly exemplifies both the tendency of writing “for the people” and reflecting contemporary trends. Hashimoto's *shin min'yō* songs contain several different musical approaches, ranging from imitating the performing techniques of folk songs to simply using the minor *yonanuki* scale to express melancholic nostalgia for one's faraway home (Lehtonen 2015a, 62–63).²²⁹ Like many other composers of the time (Hughes 1991, 5), however, also Hashimoto changed his focus from *shin min'yō* to “folk songs for urban people,” in other words commercial popular music, by the 1930s.

Folk songs are the most apparent Japanese influence on Hashimoto's early work, and are relatively easy to identify due to his participation in the Shin Min'yō movement. However, he also wrote songs adopting influences in more complex ways. One such example is *Dance (Mai, 1929)*, set to Fukao Sumako's poem *Dance – On Musume dōjōji of Kikugorō VI (Mai – Rokudaime Kikugorō no Musume dōjōji ni yosete)*. Fukao wrote the poem after seeing Kikugorō VI's performance of the *kabuki* play *Musume dōjōji* to reflect her impressions of the performance (Shibaïke 1999, 241). Although *Dance* is more about a performance rather than about the play itself, the poem is nevertheless written from the viewpoint of the female main character, who performs a dance and turns into a snake in the play.

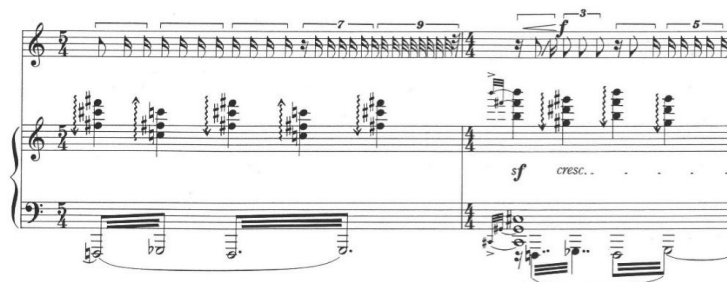
²²⁸ This number includes only those songs that were published as “art songs,” that is, songs with piano accompaniment. For the list of all 159 songs published as popular songs (including the songs Hashimoto wrote under pseudonyms), see Saegusa (2012).

²²⁹ See very similar approaches also in *shin min'yō* works by both Komatsu brothers, Heigorō and Kiyoshi, for example in the collection *Sekai ongaku zenshū 3: Nihon min'yō kyōkushū*, edited by Fujii Kiyomi and Hirota Ryūtarō (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1930).

Like the poem, the music is also free in form. The only repeated element is the short motive in the piano part at the beginning of the piece (mm. 1–2, ex. 5.51), which however appears in the sung part only once (mm. 44–45). *Dance* includes many atonal passages and even Sprechstimme (ex. 5.52), both of which were unusual in Japanese music of the time and earned Hashimoto the reputation of a modernist (Hatanaka 2012, 77).



Example 5.51 *Dance*, mm. 1–2 (Hashimoto 2009, 86).
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Example 5.52 *Dance*, mm. 31–32; words omitted (Hashimoto 2009, 89).
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It is unlikely that Hashimoto would have encountered Sprechstimme as an element of Western art music as early as 1929. Rather, it is more likely an influence from the recitative in *kabuki*. In this sense, it bridges Hashimoto's interest in traditional music and modern expression. It further suggests that *Dance* may have also been influenced by the music of the *kabuki* theatre in other ways. Closer examination, however, shows that this is not the case. Even though the opening (ex. 5.51) does resemble patterns played by the *shamisens* when accompanying the dance in *Musume dōjōji*, Hashimoto soon shows that the *koto* is the primary influence in the piano part. This is particularly evident in the tremolo (m. 6) and cadence (m. 8) resembling both the tunings and playing techniques of the instrument (mm. 5–8, ex. 5.53).²³⁰

²³⁰ Compare also with Mitsukuri's *Night Rhapsody* (ex. 5.23).



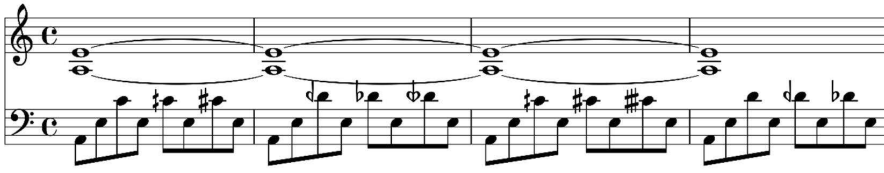
Example 5.53 *Dance*, mm. 5–8 (Hashimoto 2009, 86).
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The *koto* is not, however, used in the instrumental ensemble of *kabuki*, and as Hanaoka (2007, 16) points out, the sung part does not resemble typical *kabuki* singing either, aside from the sections including Sprechstimme. However, neither does the work resemble the vocal genres accompanied by the *koto*. This raises the question of why Hashimoto would imitate techniques and scales of the *koto* in a work based on *kabuki* theatre—particularly as he proved his knowledge of the genres of traditional music in his *shin min'yō* and writings (Lehtonen 2015a, 62–63).

Although this approach initially seems contradictory, the work succeeds well in its primary goal—that of conveying Fukao's poem. The poem is written in the Japanese language but in a free rhythm and structure influenced by French modernists (Shibaike 1996, 243), and rather than the play itself, it depicts Fukao's impressions after seeing a performance of the play. This is why it does not include any quotations of *kabuki* texts. In the same way, Hashimoto distances the listener from the world of *kabuki* by imitating the *koto* while at the same time maintaining a Japanese quality in the work. As Fukao's poem was considered avant-garde in its time (Hatanaka 2012, 76), it is natural that the music is composed in a modern, partly atonal style as well; furthermore, using Sprechstimme bridges both Japanese and modernist qualities. In this sense, the elements from traditional music are both aesthetic and technical, and adopted in a manner that seeks to capture the spirit of the original poem.

Examples of instrumental works adopting Japanese elements are fewer in Hashimoto's work, but they exist as well. The microtonal *Study* for violin and cello resembles *Dance* in that it seeks to expand expression in Western-style

composition with influences from traditional music.²³¹ The beginning measures of the work already contain several microintervals (ex. 5.54).



Example 5.54 *Study*, mm. 1–4 (Hashimoto 1930h).

Unlike *Dance*, *Study* does not display an explicit Japanese quality on the surface—see, for example, measures 38–43, which do not resemble traditional music at all (ex. 5.55). However, as discussed earlier, Hashimoto associated the use of microintervals in *Study* with folk songs. Rather than being audibly “Japanese,” *Study* adopts influences from traditional music as a compositional technique. The approach was extraordinary and radical during its time, and resembles the approaches by postwar composers rather than the national school of the 1930s.



Example 5.55 *Study*, mm. 38–43 (Hashimoto 1930h).

Hashimoto also wrote works that evoke a Japanese atmosphere but do not contain distinctive influences from any genre of traditional music. One example is the piano piece *Pluie dans la rue* (*Ame no michi*, 1934), written only shortly before Hashimoto left for Europe. The work is the first in the collection of three piano pieces based on *nihonga* paintings by Kaburaki Kiyokata (鏑木清方, 1878–1972), and it was originally performed with Japanese dance accompaniment (Hashimoto Qunihico 1934, 2). While

²³¹ See discussion on *Study* in Chapter 4.3.

Hashimoto gave many of his works alternative titles in English or German, the French title in this case hints at the musical style, namely French Impressionism. Kaburaki's painting *Shintomiza*, which *Pluie dans la rue* is based on, portrays a traditionally-dressed Japanese woman covering herself with a Japanese umbrella before the *kabuki* stage Shintomiza. *Pluie dans la rue* conveys these elements musically by depicting the rain with the patterns in left hand of the piano, whereas the right hand plays a melody in a scale resembling the *miyakobushi* scale from C# (C#-D-F#-G#-A-C#)—however not focusing on the melodic movements suggested in Koizumi's theory (ex. 5.56).



Example 5.56 *Pluie dans la rue*, mm. 5–20 (Hashimoto 1969, 2).
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Like in *Dance*, the melody and timbre of the right hand resemble the music for the *koto*. The *miyakobushi* scale, as well, is equivalent of the typical tunings of the *koto* in terms of interval structure (see Harich-Schneider 1973, 520 and Wade 1976 for *koto* tunings). However, the work does not imitate any playing techniques of the instrument as explicitly as *Dance*. Moreover, although the parallel fourths (beginning from m. 16) evoke a Japanese or Asian mood, they are also an element constantly encountered in Debussy's music, for example. Rather than imitating any specific genre of traditional music, it searches for

common ground between Japanese-style and French Impressionist-style composition and, by this approach, seeks to evoke the atmosphere of Kaburaki's painting.

To summarize, Hashimoto's works until 1935 adopt influences from traditional Japanese music in the following manners.

- 1) *Shin min'yō* seeking to capture the spirit of folk songs through the imitation of rhythmic and melodic patterns encountered in folk songs, while retaining a quality making the works recognizable in the context of Western-style composition.
- 2) Works such as *Dance* and *Pluie dans la rue* that seek to capture the spirit of the original program and adopting musical Japanese elements to emphasize an aspect of the work that the music is based on.
- 3) Works such as *Study*, seeking to broaden the possibilities of expression by adopting influences from traditional music in a work of absolute music.

In a sense, the solo piano work *Japanese Rhapsody No. 1* (*Nihon kyōsōkyoku dai-ichiban*) is a synthesis of all these approaches.²³² The year of composition is unknown, but the musical language resembles that in most of Hashimoto's prewar work. The beginning passages (ex. 5.57) already suggest allusions to Japanese folk dances, and also resemble other piano works by composers of the national school in the 1930s.²³³ The work also contains sections (ex. 5.58) resembling the imitation of playing techniques of the *koto* in *Dance*—even though not adopting the scales of *koto* music this time. At the same time, the work also presents a modernist element by containing bitonal passages, as can be observed in the simultaneous adoption of different key signatures (ex. 5.59). In these aspects, *Japanese Rhapsody* is a perfect example of a work incorporating many of those elements typical of Hashimoto's work before 1935.



Example 5.57 *Japanese Rhapsody*, mm. 11–14 (Hashimoto 193?).

²³² Hashimoto himself also gave the work the German title *Japanische Rhapsodie No. 1*. The work is, however, the only “Japanese rhapsody” by Hashimoto.

²³³ Compare the work with Ifukube's *Japanese Suite* (*Nihon kumikyoku*, 1934), or Kiyose's *Countryside Dances* and *Dances of Home District*.



Example 5.58 *Japanese Rhapsody*, mm. 286–290 (Hashimoto 193?).



Example 5.59 *Japanese Rhapsody*, mm. 69–73 (Hashimoto 193?).

Several of Hashimoto's works incorporate aspects typically associated with the postwar generation. In some of his *shin min'yō*, the approach is close to Mamiya Michio's. In his *Japanese Folk Song Collection* (*Nihon min'yōshū*, 1958–1999) for singer and piano, Mamiya seeks to capture the spirit of the songs he used as his material rather than simply imitating them with Western devices (Mamiya 2009, 140). He must have noticed the similarity between his approach and Hashimoto's, as he arranged Hashimoto's *shin min'yō* song *Oroku musume* (お六娘, 1929) for an ensemble of Japanese instruments in 1984.

Works such as *Dance* and *Study*, on the other hand, adopt aspects of traditional music as modern expression in Western art music. These approaches also connect Hashimoto with the postwar generation of composers, celebrated for their ways of adopting elements from the Japanese tradition to expand the expression of Western-style composition. During a time when Itō's atonal work was assessed through its "failure" in the use of harmony (see Akiyama 1975b, 60–61), and Hashimoto's quartertones were criticized (Matsubara 1930), this kind of music was aimed at, and understood by, an extremely limited audience. In this context, it is particularly interesting to note that Hashimoto dropped these radical aspects from his work at approximately the same time as he stopped composing *shin min'yō*.

Another significant characteristic is the type of genres of Japanese music that Hashimoto alludes to. All of them have to do with music enjoyed by the common people, as opposed to the nobility and those holding power. This is obvious in the case of folk songs—both rural and urban—but even the microintervals in *Study* are based on folk song influences, *Japanese Rhapsody*

evokes the mood of Japanese folk dances, and *Dance* is based on a form of theatre that represented popular culture in Edo-period Japan. No allusions, on the other hand, are made to upper-class musical genres such as *gagaku*, or the musical traditions favored by the ruling warrior class during the Edo period, such as the *nō* theatre or the musical narration in the warrior epic *Tale of Heike* (*Heike monogatari*, dating originally from the thirteenth century). The Japanese elements in Hashimoto's prewar work indeed underline his determination to write music "for the people."

However, there is one exception to this rule: works containing influences from genres associated with the Japanese state. In the ballet *The Heavenly Maiden and the Fisherman* (*Tennyō to gyōfu*, 1932), harmonic allusions to *gagaku* serve the function of conveying the program by accompanying the appearance of the noble "heavenly maiden" with the "heavenly music" of the court. The cantata *Song in Celebration of the Birth of His Highness the Crown Prince* (*Kōtaishi denka goseitan hōshukuka*, 1934), which Hashimoto composed under the pseudonym "Tokyo Academy of Music," follows the same approach. It was written to celebrate the birth of the crown prince (Emperor Akihito, b. 1933), and the musical devices are in line with this: the cantata is in the German Romantic style and includes a fugue—one of the forms of music held in the highest regard in Japan at the time (Akiyama 1979, 11)—and, furthermore, quotes the Japanese national anthem *Kimi ga yo* as a type of cantus firmus toward the end. The style of music undeniably serves the compositional context well, but at the same time it is also the first work to represent what was to become Hashimoto's compositional style during the war.

5.3.2 Hashimoto's wartime works

Hashimoto's music changed notably upon his return to Japan after studying in Europe from 1935 to the spring of 1937. Even though he met Schönberg in Los Angeles and wrote an enthusiastic article on the encounter (Hashimoto 1937a), the experimental qualities in his work almost disappear. Most of Hashimoto's nationalist compositional output consists of marching songs and popular songs of war (*gunkoku kayō*) (Saegusa 2012, 27–28). His few nationalist works of Western art music include *Kōkamon Gate* (*Kōkamon*, 1939)—a cantata about the Battle of Nanking in 1937—Symphony No. 1 (1940) written for the festivities of 1940, and the cantata *Hymn for the Soul of a Deceased Soldier* (*Eirei sankā*, 1943), composed to commemorate the Navy Marshal Yamamoto Isoroku. One of the few works utilizing Japanese elements in a manner resembling Hashimoto's prewar works is *Song of a Traveler* (*Tabibito no uta*, 1939), which uses pentatonic scales and imitates traditional vocal techniques. Otherwise, however, Japanese elements almost disappear in Hashimoto's wartime music—including his nationalist works.

For example, although strongly related to the Japanese Empire and the war, *Hymn for the Soul of a Deceased Soldier* is in German Romantic style, and instead of Japanese elements the only distinctive musical influences are war

calls by the brass section. Several nationalist songs adopt the *yonanuki* scale but do not imitate any specific genre of Japanese music. For example, “We Triumphal Children” (“Kachinuku bokura shōkokumin,”²³⁴ 1945) encourages children to die for the Emperor, and was used as a school song until the end of the war (Omura 2014, 167). However, the song contains no allusion to any distinctive genre of Japanese music.

The work containing the most Japanese elements from the war period is the German Romantic-style Symphony No. 1 in D Major, which was composed for the festivities of 1940. The opening of the first movement in sonata form already presents elements from traditional Japanese music, by beginning with a canon by the first and second violin (ex. 5.60). Although played at a much faster tempo and on a different pitch, the melody line quotes the classical *gagaku* piece *Etenraku* in *hyōjō* key²³⁵ (ex. 5.61)—possibly the most well-known *gagaku* piece and the one most performed in the 1930s and 1940s as an arrangement for orchestra by Konoe Hidemaro (Kumazawa 2012).



Example 5.60 Opening of Symphony no. 1 (Hashimoto 1940).



Example 5.61 Melody of *Etenraku* in *hyōjō* key. Rhythm is more relative in actual performance.

After this, the symphony introduces the motive D-E-A, presented all over the first movement (ex. 5.62). For example, it is apparent in the beginning of the development section in minor key (ex. 5.63). Considering its simplicity, Hashimoto uses it to an astonishing degree. In fact, there are only a few moments in the whole movement when the motive is not present in any form; it is performed even by the timpani. Although it is also slightly varied, it always returns to its original form and pitch.

²³⁴ *Shōkokumin* (young citizen) was the term used for children in Japan during World War II.

²³⁵ The use of the term “key” is reasonable in Japanese *gagaku* theory, which recognizes two modes and six keys in the *tōgaku* repertoire, or music imported from China. When *gagaku* melodies are played in different keys, the musical contents of the piece change. The melody which Hashimoto quotes is that of *Etenraku* in *hyōjō* key, albeit performed in a different pitch from the original.



Example 5.62 A motive in Symphony no. 1 (Hashimoto 1940).



Example 5.63 The beginning of the development section in the first movement of Symphony no. 1 (Hashimoto 1940).

Before the development section, Hashimoto combines the motive with a harmony reminiscent of the *aitake* chords in *gagaku* (ex. 3.4). This kind of harmony is also encountered in other passages in the first movement, further confirming that *gagaku* is the genre to which the movement primarily alludes. Still, the work does not adopt any key characteristics of *gagaku* in terms of the form of the composition or the roles of different instrument groups. Rather, they appear only occasionally and in a decorative manner in the movement, which is otherwise composed in the German Romantic idiom.

The second movement is in ABA' form. The repetitive melody of the A section (ex. 5.64) is composed in a mode reminiscent of the music of the Ryūkyū Islands (or Okinawa). Hashimoto confirms this by citing the melody as a typical example of Okinawan-style mode in one of his composing manuals (Hashimoto 1948, 103), although the melody does not follow the *ryūkyū* scale consistently.



Example 5.64 The repetitive melody of A section of the second movement in Symphony no. 1 (Hashimoto 1940).

The melody of the B section (ex. 5.65) is based on the repetition of the same melodic and rhythmic line in turns between instrument groups (strings and winds). This resembles the antiphonal *utakake* form met in Okinawan folk music, or more accurately in the *mōashibi* tradition, in which women and men split into two groups and sing in antiphonal style (Uchida 1989, 5). It emphasizes the folk song nature of the second movement—especially as *utakake* songs are often seen as “vulgar” in contrast with the Okinawan art music tradition (Takenaka 1975, 103). While this seems strange compared with the first movement, according to Katayama (2007, 141), the second movement of the symphony represents *nanshinron* (“doctrine of southern expansion”), a doctrine based on the idea that South-East Asia was a sphere of interest for Japan in terms of territorial expansion. The allusion to Okinawan

folk music in a symphony celebrating the Japanese Empire is thus also a political message.



Example 6.65 The opening of B section of the second movement in Symphony no. 1 (Hashimoto 1940).

The third movement consists of a theme, variations, and a fugue. The theme is the melody of *Song of the Founding of the Empire* (*Kigensetsu no uta*, 1888; ex. 5.66) by Isawa Shūji. Using the song as the theme for the third movement is well in line with the compositional context; it was known by everyone in Japan and sung from the celebrations of the Founding of the Empire Day (February 11) until the end of the war, when it was deemed too nationalist and banned (Akiyama 1976, 10). The variations are composed in a vast diversity of styles ranging from a lullaby (variation 7) and Wagnerian brasses reminiscent of the overture of *Tannhäuser* (variation 8) to a Baroque-style fugue in the end. The third movement overall seems to be a manifestation of Hashimoto's knowledge of various established compositional practices of Western music.



Example 5.66 The beginning of “Kigensetsu no uta,” composed by Shūji Isawa.

The motive D-E-A (ex. 5.62) from the first movement is again presented as a countersubject for the theme of the fugue, and in the end of the work played in a pompous manner alongside the original theme *Song of the Founding of the Empire*. The whole work also ends with two fanfare-like presentations of the motive. As the motive itself is musically simple²³⁶ but bears such a significant role in the work, it seems possible that it carries a particular meaning—very likely linked to the context of the symphony. Closer examination proves that the motive is a musical cryptogram. When the pitch names D, E, and A are translated into Japanese, they become *ni*, *ho* and *i*. As *i* is the only monophonemic pitch name in Japanese, and, parallel to that, *n* is the only syllable of the Japanese writing system consisting of one consonant

²³⁶ *The Japan Times* even criticized the theme for its lack of innovativeness (Anonymous 1940, 25).

phoneme, I believe that the motive stands for *Nihon*, or “Japan” in Japanese. Therefore, the motive that has such a significant role in the symphony is the fundamental core message of the work—very fitting for the festive composition context of a work celebrating the Empire of Japan.

Overall, the elements from Japanese music adopted in the symphony convey a nationalist message, which applies even to the use of Okinawan folk melody in the second movement. With these elements, Hashimoto brings not only a “Japanese” but also a nationalist quality to each of the movements. Unlike in his prewar work, however, the “nation” is not that of the Japanese people, but that of the Empire.²³⁷ By writing music in the established forms and techniques of Western composition, Hashimoto emphasized the upper-class nature of the work to an even greater degree. It is, of course, both revealing and ironic that to celebrate the state Hashimoto chose a Western idiom rather than Japanese, which emphasizes the originally nationalist motive in the adoption of Western culture during the Meiji period. Still, Hashimoto also proves his knowledge of the genres of traditional music and makes musical allusions in a manner that makes them bear specific meanings and enhance the message of the work, rather than simply using them as mere decorative elements.

When discussing Hashimoto’s wartime works, it is necessary to point out that some of them were destroyed in the war (Takaku 2007, 152). Therefore, it is possible that he also composed other Japanese-style works. Based on the material that has survived, though, the following summary can be concluded on the adoption of Japanese elements in Hashimoto’s work during the war.

- 1) Most of the nationalist music does not include a Japanese element of any kind.
- 2) When a Japanese element is present in a work, it is usually in the form of the *yonanuki* scale. *Song of a Traveler* is one of the few exceptions, imitating traditional vocal techniques.
- 3) Symphony No. 1 is the only work containing specific musical meanings related to the theme of the work. The genres that are alluded to are used to enhance the message of the work.

5.3.3 Hashimoto as a composer reflecting his time

Whereas Hashimoto’s prewar and wartime works are different in their approaches, his musical style did not go through notable changes in the postwar period. Katayama (2007, 54) has noted that Hashimoto’s nationalist war songs and democratic postwar songs display no significant musical differences, despite the contrasting programs. After the war, however, Hashimoto composed only few works containing any kinds of Japanese

²³⁷ Note, also, how this resembles the style change in Kiyose’s orchestral works.

elements—even compared with his wartime work.²³⁸ This portrays a peculiar development. Even though the Japanese elements in Hashimoto’s early prewar work are abundant and prove his understanding of different genres, they gradually almost disappear. The national school of composition was accused of nationalist ideologies as early as the beginning of the 1930s, but in my opinion, Hashimoto’s work does not support this idea: his prewar works adopting Japanese elements are not composed to nationalist programs, whereas during the war, elements from traditional music disappear simultaneously with the emergence of nationalist programs.

Hashimoto is typically not listed among Japanese-style composers of the prewar period (e.g. Ishida 2002, 64). While this might have to do with the versatility of styles he represented, it also connects with the way he utilized influences from Japanese music. The Japanese elements in Hashimoto’s work serve mostly as a tool of expression adopted to conveying an aspect of the program, rather than constructing a Japanese idiom of composition. This further emphasizes that he composed in a vast diversity of styles, “Japanese” being only one among the others.

However, I would like to point out one aspect that makes all of Hashimoto’s music “Japanese-style” in a sense. It has to do with the changes in Japanese society during the time. Omura (2014, 178) suggests that Hashimoto “gave himself away” when writing nationalist works demanded by the state as the professor of the Tokyo Academy of Music, thus becoming the “face of the school.” This aspect is explicit in some of his nationalist works written under the pseudonym “Tokyo Academy of Music.” If we assume that Hashimoto indeed “gave himself away” during the war, we are left pondering which characteristics are common in his prewar and postwar works. A notable difference is, of course, that the elements from traditional music disappeared in the post war period. Stylistically, Hashimoto also gave up the modernist nature of his early work.

Still, one approach remains similar in both periods. In the prewar period, Hashimoto (1930a, 106) explicitly stated that his compositional ideal was to write music for the people while retaining high artistic quality. In the postwar period, as well, he belonged to the group *Shinfūsha*,²³⁹ a society of poets and composers taking as their goal to write “high-quality music for the people” (Saegusa 2012, 25). His postwar works also suggest that his initial attitude toward composing did not undergo a change (Lehtonen 2015a, 74–77). According to Omura (2014, 168), one of Hashimoto’s strengths was his ability to compose in a style that each period of time demanded from him. This, ultimately, also became the tragedy of his whole career. It resulted in stark political differences between his creative periods that, at the same time, reflected changes in Japanese society. This is, of course, evident when

²³⁸ For more detailed discussion on this, see Lehtonen 2015a.

²³⁹ *Shinfū* (新風) means “new style” or “fresh,” and in this case, *sha* (社) stands for “association.” Therefore, the name of the society refers to the new period after the war and their fresh approach to writing poems and music.

comparing the nationalist works with those pronouncing democracy, but there are also subtler differences. One of these has to do with the type of songs that Hashimoto composed.

Based on his writings on the importance of folk songs (1930a and 1930b) and following the spirit of the people (1930f, 13), it seems that Hashimoto did originally aim at becoming a composer representing the Japanese people—but not through the creation of a national idiom. For him, the music of the people meant “folk songs,” both urban and rural. His works solely reflected this view in the influences they adopted. While this study deals with Hashimoto’s work containing Japanese elements, one cannot overlook the composer’s seemingly contradictory style in the prewar years. *Shin min’yō* songs such as *After Viewing Mount Fuji* (*Fujisan mitara*, 1929), which adopts a minor *yonanuki* scale, evoke a sense of nostalgia for one’s faraway home in the countryside. At the same time, however, Hashimoto wrote Western-style songs such as *Sweets and Girls* (*Okashi to musume*, 1928), depicting the urban and exotic Paris.

While these two compositional styles might seem to contradict each other, they are, however, representations of the same compositional motive. For example, as there was great interest in everything Parisian in Tokyo at the end of the 1920s (Ogawa 1999, 221), even songs like *Sweets and Girls* become recognizable as “folk songs for urban people.” Hashimoto’s principle of composing “folk songs” for those from both the urban and rural areas led to two somewhat contrasting voices emerging in his work. While one of them holds a Japanese quality, the other one does not.

Comparing Hashimoto’s prewar and postwar music leads thus to an interesting observation. When composing “for the people,” he wrote works adopting Japanese elements in the prewar period but abandoned them after the war. On a fundamental level, not only Hashimoto’s music, but also the voice of the Japanese people underwent a change during this period. In a society demonstrating strong tendencies towards Americanization (e.g. Gordon ed. 1993), the qualities from traditional music and culture that were already becoming the past were perhaps destined to disappear. The resistance to Americanization began to emerge in the 1950s, and is also reflected in the music of the time. Many musical works with new and original approaches to Japanese elements were composed in the 1950s (Ishida 2007), and new types of songs underlining a nostalgic Japanese quality emerged in popular music as well, later becoming the “Japanese-style” popular song *enka* (e.g. Kikuchi 2008, 160–161).

Based on Hashimoto’s writings, as well as Omura’s (2014) idea of him being a composer able to write music in the styles that each period of time demanded from him, it is likely that Hashimoto would have also taken on these tendencies and, in a sense, returned to his initial composing style. Of course, this remains purely speculative, as Hashimoto passed away in 1949 and did not live to see the newly rising interest in Japanese-style music. What is certain, however, is that many of Hashimoto’s pupils did take on his approach to composing. Mayuzumi Toshirō became a versatile and celebrated composer

interested in combining various influences with modern Western techniques, and like Hashimoto, he adopted elements from both popular songs and traditional Japanese music.²⁴⁰ But most notably, Dan Ikuma and particularly Nakada Yoshinao succeeded in becoming “composers of the people” through their well-known and beloved songs (Lehtonen 2015c, 24). While Hashimoto’s death was premature and his compositional career was impacted by the tragedy of the war, his work was ultimately succeeded by his pupils. Their works echoed also his voice for decades to come.

5.4 Matsudaira Yoritsune: folk songs, gagaku, and the art of concealing

Matsudaira’s prewar work proves an intriguing subject for examining Japanese-style composition. The composer, well-known for the original use of materials in his postwar work, already emphasized the importance of Japanese elements before the war. Yet, only a few of his works express them explicitly: they can be discerned within the otherwise Western musical language only through close examination. This observation serves as a key to understanding Matsudaira’s prewar work. He never advocated following Japanese-style composition as an idiom, but seemed to view influences from traditional music as musical *materials* (Chapter 4.4). This might have to do with his idea that music should reflect its time and place. But what perspective do the Japanese elements in Matsudaira’s musical work bring to this view?

The Japanese elements in Matsudaira’s work are based on two genres in particular: folk songs from the Nanbu area in the northern part of Japan²⁴¹ and, to a lesser degree, the court music *gagaku*. The first influence is evident in the titles of several works, such as *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1* (*Nanbu min’yōshū 1*, 1928–1936) and *Theme and Variations on Nanbu Lullaby for Piano and Orchestra* (*Nanbu komoriuta o shudai to suru piano to orekesutora no tame no hensōkyoku*, 1939). Influences from *gagaku* are fewer, and are not suggested by the titles of any works in the prewar period. The second movement of Matsudaira’s *Sonatine for Flute and Piano* (1936) uses a *gagaku* melody—however, at that time, Matsudaira had not even heard a performance of *gagaku*. After the war, he focused mostly on using elements from *gagaku* rather than folk songs, and fused them with modern techniques of Western composition in an original manner.²⁴² In this sense, Matsudaira’s

²⁴⁰ The atonal piano work *Hors d’oeuvre* (1949), for example, contains a section in boogie-woogie rhythm—an allusion to the boogie-woogies composed by Hattori Ryōichi (服部良一, 1907–1993), most notably, “Tokyo Boogie-Woogie” (1948). In *Nirvana Symphony* (1957–1958), Mayuzumi constructed the harmony from the overtone series of Buddhist temple bells, and used the Buddhist *shōmyō* recitative (Mayuzumi 1964).

²⁴¹ Although Nanbu (南部) literally translates as “southern part,” it is the historical name for the area encompassing certain parts of the northern part of Honshū, the main island of Japan.

²⁴² For more on Matsudaira’s postwar work, see Galliano (2002, 137–144) or Herd (1987, 145–169).

prewar work can also be regarded as a development leading from one type of primary influences to another.

5.4.1 Matsudaira's early work

Interest in Japanese-style composition is not that apparent in Matsudaira's first work, the piano piece collection *Memories of My Childhood* (*Yōnen jidai no omoide*, 1928–1930). Rather, it suggests an interest in French music: not only does the work have the additional French title *Souvenirs d'enfance* (Souvenirs from My Childhood), some of the pieces contain direct influences from works of French composers.²⁴³ For example, *Poissons rouges* (*Kingyo*; *Goldfish*, 1928) is notably similar to Debussy's *Poissons d'or* (*Goldfish*, 1907) from *Images II*—as has been previously noted by Hiramoto (2004, 8–9). Note, for example, the playful motives in Matsudaira's work in the latter half of the piece (ex. 5.67), and similar characteristics in Debussy's composition (ex. 5.68). Overall, the mood of the pieces with their constant arpeggios and ornamentations resemble each other. It is also noteworthy that Matsudaira has chosen not to use bar lines at all; this was a peculiar approach in Japan at that time. For example, Akiyama (1975, 71) regarded the absence of bar lines—something also seen in some of Itō's work—as avant-garde.²⁴⁴



Example 5.67 *Poissons rouges*, a passage in the work (Matsudaira 1991a, 11). © Zenon gakufu shuppansha

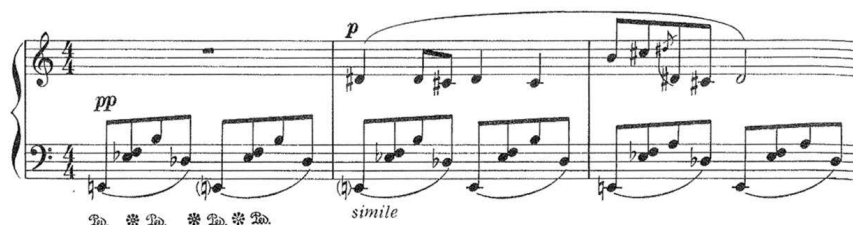


Example 5.68 *Poissons d'or* from *Images II*, mm. 30–31 (Debussy 1908, 16). © A. Durand & Fils

²⁴³ Matsudaira gave French titles to many of his early works.

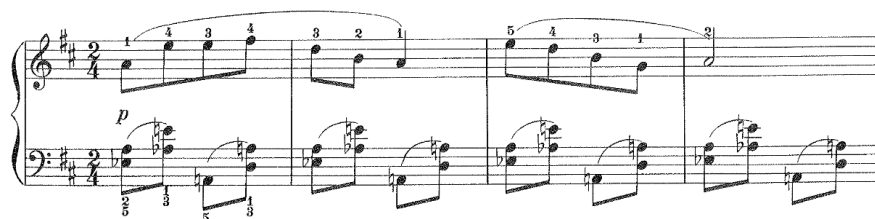
²⁴⁴ Matsudaira also used non-metrical time to reproduce Japanese perception of time in some of his postwar works, but this does not seem like a likely influence on *Memories from My Childhood* for the reason that Matsudaira was not yet really acquainted with traditional music at the end of the 1920s.

Memories of My Childhood, however, also shows the first signs of Matsudaira's interest in Japanese elements. The first piece, *Berceuse* (*Komoriuta*; *Lullaby*, 1928) (ex. 5.69) resembles some traditional lullabies,²⁴⁵ although it changes so quickly to an adoption of the whole-tone scale that it does not seem like an attempt at composing in a Japanese style.



Example 5.69 *Berceuse*, mm. 1–3 (Matsudaira 1991b, 8).
© Zenon gakufu shuppansha

It was only later that Matsudaira began adopting elements from Japanese music into his work. His active creative period of the prewar years begins with his works written in the mid-1930s—after the encounters with Tansman and Tcherepnin had already taken place. *Prelude in D* (1934) for piano—a work published in the Tcherepnin edition in 1935—is among the earliest examples hinting at Japanese influences, and characterizes Matsudaira's prewar style in general. Although the Tcherepnin Edition gives the title in French as *Prélude (en Ré Majeur)* (*Prelude (in D Major)*), a later publication (Matsudaira 1991c) presents it without any reference to mode, as *Prélude en Ré* or *Zensōkyoku ni-chō* (*Prelude in D*). This is much more in accordance with the contents of the work. While the key signature suggests D major, the beginning measures already indicate that the work is polytonal rather than in a major key (ex. 5.70).



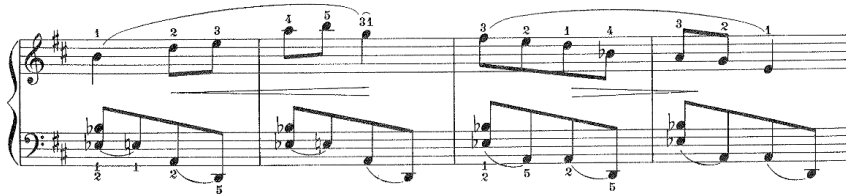
Example 5.70 *Prelude in D*, mm. 1–4 (Matsudaira 1991c, 28).
© Zenon gakufu shuppansha

The work avoids presenting major and minor chords already in the first measures, which all end on an open fifth based on D. Hiramoto (2004, 10) has

²⁴⁵ Compare, for example, with “Hakata komoriuta” (“Hakata Lullaby” from Hakata, or Fukuoka) or “Nenne komorisan” (from Wakayama).

noted that the lower notes of the left hand follow A \flat major—limited, however, only to the first beat in each measure, as can also be seen in example 5.70. In my opinion, the left hand suggests E \flat rather than A \flat major, but whichever the case, *Prelude in D* does use polytonality. Hiramoto (2004) has seen this as an influence from Tansman, as there are no examples of such an approach in Matsudaira's previous work, and *Prelude in D* was composed the year following Tansman's visit in Japan.

What makes *Prelude in D* interesting in the context of Japanese-style composition, however, is that the right hand adopts Japanese scales. This has already been noted by Hiramoto (2004, 10), according to whom the melody is written mostly in the *ritsu* scale with some occurrences of *min'yō* and *miyakobushi* (see ex. 3.1). It is true that the first eight measures (ex. 5.70) adopt the *ritsu* scale from A (A-B-D-E-F \sharp -A). To be more precise, however, the melody is not based on fixed scales but tetrachords of traditional Japanese music, as defined by Koizumi. While they do not follow typical melodic movements of traditional music, they change too constantly to be fixed scales. This becomes particularly evident in measures 9–12 (ex. 5.71).



Example 5.71 *Prelude in D*, mm. 9–12 (Matsudaira 1991c, 28).
© Zenon gakufu shuppansha

The passage can be analyzed with Koizumi's theory, however with some inconsistency. The ascending melody in measures 9–10 is based on a *min'yō* scale from B, comprising two tetrachords combined conjunctively (B-D-E and E-G-A), G appearing on the second beat of measure 10. The descending melody in measures 11–12, however, cannot be analyzed entirely logically with Koizumi's tetrachords. It would first seem logical that a new tetrachord begins from B in measure 10, but the second one (E-D-B \flat) would then not contain a perfect fourth. Beginning from D on the second half of measure 11, however, the melody is easily analyzed as two tetrachords combined in a conjunctive manner: *miyakobushi* (D-B \flat -A) and *min'yō* (A-G-E). The preceding pitches F \sharp and E remain somewhat more difficult to place in any tetrachord. They would make sense if the preceding pitch at the end of measure 10 was A, not G, in which case they would form one descending *ritsu* tetrachord (A-F \sharp -E). While the passage in measures 9–12 suggests a melody based on a scale different when ascending and descending, it contains some lack of logic, and does not relate to Uehara's theory of *in* and *yō* scales either (ex. 3.3).

Matsudaira's comment on combining Japanese melodies with Western harmony suggests that it was his intention to write the pieces using Japanese scales. His later works of the 1930s typically quote melodies of traditional music—as I will discuss below—which raises the question of whether this occurs in *Prelude in D* as well. Since Matsudaira had not yet encountered *gagaku* when composing this piece in 1934, the most likely inspiration would be folk songs from the Nanbu area. A further hint suggesting this is the performance direction “Andante cantabile (Rustique)” with its reference to the rural.²⁴⁷ There is, indeed, some resemblance to *Sondeko*, the sixth piece from Matsudaira's *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1* (ex. 5.74), not only in the sung melody, but also in the piano part. The similarity, however, remains on a suggestive level.



Example 5.74 *Sondeko*, mm. 1–5; words omitted (Matsudaira 1937a, 12).

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While being based on Japanese scales, *Prelude in D* does not evoke a particularly Japanese mood compared, for example, with Kiyose's or Hashimoto's Japanese-style works. This results from the polytonal harmony. The approach of combining Japanese melodies with modern harmony was to characterize most of Matsudaira's Japanese-style works of the 1930s. While containing Japanese elements, they are, in a sense, “concealed”—or presented in a musical setting so different from the original that they do not emphasize a Japanese quality but rather diminish its presence. In this sense, *Prelude in D* indeed served as a “prelude” to most of Matsudaira's work of the 1930s.

There are several examples of the same approach in Matsudaira's prewar works.²⁴⁸ While many of them suggest the original influence in their titles, unlike *Prelude in D*, none of them is as explicit as *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1*, which mentions the original songs in their titles. It is also an exception in that Matsudaira has paid more attention to presenting the melodies in a style

²⁴⁷ For example, Matsudaira (1991d, 2) has noted that another piano piece collection, *Six dances rustiques / Muttso no den'en bukyoku* (*Six Rural Dances*, composed before and during the war)—referring to “rustic” and “rural” as well—was composed to melodies of folk songs from the Tōhoku area (encompassing the historical Nanbu area).

²⁴⁸ These include, among others, *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1*, *Pastorale* (1935), *Six Rural Dances* (composed before and during the war), *Sonatine for Flute and Piano* (1936), and *Theme and Variations on Nanbu Lullaby for Piano and Orchestra*. The last work was composed as *Kokuminshikyoku*.

resembling folk songs, meaning, for example, the imitation of the melismata of the original songs.²⁴⁹ For example, compare Matsudaira's *Cow Herder's Song No. 1* (*Nanbu ushioi uta dai-ichi*) from the collection (ex. 5.75) with a transcription of the original song "Nanbu Cow Herder's Song" (*Nanbu ushioi uta*) (ex. 5.76), which does not contain the melismata at all.

Example 5.75 *Cow Herder's Song No. 1*, mm. 1–8; words omitted
(Matsudaira 1937b, 2). © Edition Alexandre Tcherepnine

Example 5.76 "Nanbu Cow Herder's Song," transcribed by Mikado Tenpū
(2004, 167).

While the song collection does present melodies in a way close to the original songs, however, it is different from the *shin min'yō* by Hashimoto and other prewar composers. The harmonies have been influenced by French modernists rather than traditional music (for example in ex. 5.75). In this sense, the musical approach is somewhat similar to Mamiya Michio's *Japanese Folk Song Collection*, who also uses similar harmonies in several songs.²⁵⁰ However, whereas Mamiya aimed at capturing the original spirit of folk songs (Mamiya 2009, 138), Matsudaira (1954a, 10) by contrast lamented

²⁴⁹ This, naturally, concerns only those songs that originally contain melismata—not all types of Japanese folk songs do.

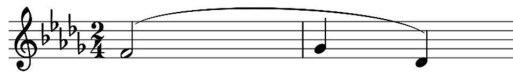
²⁵⁰ For example, compare Matsudaira's work with Mamiya's *Sasoribushi* (1955) or *Sansai odori* (1957).

his inability to do so due to his lack of experience of the life that the original songs represented. For example, while being based on modern harmony and containing atonality, *Nanbu Cow Herder's Song* (1957) in Mamiya's collection makes use of *kakegoe*—small, rhythmic exclamations—typical of folk songs (Mamiya 2009, 30–33). Characteristics like these are absent in Matsudaira's work.

5.4.2 *Pastorale* and Sonatine for Flute and Piano

Of all Matsudaira's works using materials from traditional Japanese music, I will pay attention to two, as both were crucial to Matsudaira's compositional career: *Pastorale* for orchestra (1935) and Sonatine for Flute and Piano (1936). *Pastorale* was the first work to win Matsudaira true recognition: it was awarded the Tcherepnin Prize and published in the Tcherepnin Edition, which also resulted in international performances. This success went on with Sonatine for Flute and Piano, which was also published by Tcherepnin, and performed and broadcasted in several European cities (e.g. Hosokawa and Katayama 2008, 621). Not only did these works win Matsudaira recognition, however, but they also marked the beginnings of something new in his artistic work. *Pastorale* was Matsudaira's first orchestral composition, and Sonatine the first work in which he quoted a *gagaku* melody.

Let us first take a look at *Pastorale*. While the title does not hint at any genre of traditional music, it implies a connection with folk songs with its suggestion of the rural. According to Hosokawa and Katayama (2008, 621), it is based on a folk song or songs from the Nanbu area, which would not be surprising considering Matsudaira's other prewar works. *Pastorale* introduces five motives that do not undergo notable variation. Structurally, the work consists of three repetitions of the same material, each time in a different pitch, with only minor variation in the length and placement of each motive. Each repetition, as well, is of almost the same length. The first one is 36 measures (excluding the four-measure intro, which continues as the accompanying figure to motive 1), the second one 36 measures, and the third one 31 measures. Examples 5.77–5.81 show the motives (on the pitch they first appear). They are typically marked with either “solo” or “*en dehors*” on the score upon their first appearance, emphasizing their significance in the musical material.



Example 5.77 *Pastorale*, M1 (Matsudaira 1936a, 2).



Example 5.78 *Pastorale*, M2 (Matsudaira 1936a, 3).



Example 5.79 *Pastorale*, M3 (Matsudaira 1936a, 4).



Example 5.80 *Pastorale*, M4 (Matsudaira 1936a, 5).



Example 5.81 *Pastorale*, M5 (Matsudaira 1936a, 6).

The appearances of each motive are listed below. The number in the brackets after the measures of occurrence signify the length of the motive in measures. Two characteristics stand out. First, M2 is repeated four times, whereas M4 is repeated only twice and does not appear during the third reprise at all. Second, the appearances of M5 stand out in length compared with the other motives. Not only is the motive always presented in significant length considering number of measures, it is performed in 4/4 unlike the other motives, which are in 2/4. That is, each appearance of 12 measures—the third one is 13 measures because of one measure for the final chord—takes 48 beats, whereas the other motives take at most 16. Furthermore, appearances of M5 are accompanied with the performance direction “a tempo tranquillo,” making its appearances even longer in actual performance.

Intro: 1–4 (4)

M1: 5–12 (8), 41–44 (4), 77–80 (4)

M2: 13–16 (4), 45–48 (4), 57–60 (4), 81–84 (4)

M3: 17–20 (4), 49–56 (8), 85–92 (8)

M4: 21–28 (8), 61–64 (4)

M5: 29–40 (12), 65–76 (12), 93–105 (13)

There are numerous folk songs from the Nanbu area that could have served as Matsudaira’s inspiration. In the case of *Pastorale*, however, the original songs remain relatively easy to identify, thanks to Matsudaira’s previous work *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1*. It contains striking similarities with the material that Matsudaira uses in *Pastorale*. This does not apply only to the melodies, but also to accompanying motives. To be more precise, the similarities are so obvious that it is not an exaggeration that *Pastorale* is not based on folk songs, but rather on a work based on folk songs. To demonstrate

this point, let us compare the material in both works. First, the gesture played by the bass clarinet and viola in the intro of *Pastorale* (ex. 5.82) and the piano part in the first two measures of *Cow Herder's Song No. 1* from *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1* (ex. 5.75) are not only identical musically, but also presented in the very same pitch, which immediately associates the two works with each other.



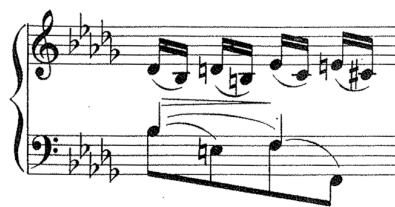
Example 5.82 *Pastorale*, bass clarinet and violas, mm. 1–2 (Matsudaira 1936a, 2).

Next, compare M1 and M2 from *Pastorale* with measures 5–6 and 7–8 in the right hand of the piano in *Cow Herder's Song No. 1* (ex. 5.75). As for M1, the material in measures 5–6 is both rhythmically and melodically identical with *Cow Herder's Song No. 1*; it has been derived from the original song, as can be seen in measure 7 of the sung part. The material of M2 is from the right hand of the piano in measures 7–8.

M3, on the other hand, does not appear in *Cow Herder's Song No. 1* as such. Comparing the lower part of M3 (oboe) with the melody in *Cow Herder's Song No. 1* in measure 4 (piano part, right hand) or 6 (sung part) in example 5.75, however, shows that M3 appears to be a variation of this gesture. This applies also to the higher part of M3, as it contains an ascent and descent between D \flat and F. Apart from this similarity in motives, the violin part accompanying M3 (ex. 5.83) in *Pastorale* and the piano part in *Cow Herder's Song No. 1* in measure 9 (ex. 5.75) are identical. However, Matsudaira makes further use of the idea in *Pastorale*, whereas in *Cow Herder's Song No. 1* the use of this gesture is limited to the short chromatic ascend in measure 9 (ex. 5.84).



Example 5.83 *Pastorale*, 2nd violin, mm. 17–18 (Matsudaira 1936a, 4).
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Example 5.84 *Cow Herder's Song No. 1*, piano part, m. 9 (Matsudaira 1937b, 3). © Edition Alexandre Tcherepnine

M4 is a more difficult case. It does not directly relate to any material in *Cow Herder's Song No. 1*. However, it can be considered a variation of the melody of the song (ex. 5.75, mm. 5–9), if transposed a fourth up (ex. 5.85). While it has been altered, even “distorted” from the original, it still bears enough similarity.



Example 5.85 Melody from *Cow Herder's Song No. 1* transposed a fourth up.

Following M4 comes M5—a motive of a larger theme in *Pastorale*. Its first appearance in measure 29 changes the tempo and mood of the work abruptly with the direction *a tempo tranquillo*, and with the key turning to D-flat major in contrast with the previous one suggesting B-flat minor. Until this point, the motives have been lined up after each other in a rhapsodic manner. By contrast, M5 takes a relatively long time. While the upper part of M3 resembles M5, there does not seem to be any similarity with *Cow Herder's Song No. 1*. The sudden change of mood and key, as well, suggest the possibility of another inspiration for this passage.

When going through the other songs in *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1*—which now seems a likely source—one melody shares similarities with M5: *Lullaby (Komoriuta)* (ex. 5.86). Also marked with the instruction *tranquillo*—a fitting mood for a lullaby—the use of this song as inspiration explains the change of mood in *Pastorale*. It is also a good example of Matsudaira's technique of adapting or quoting the original melodies. In this case, it has been accomplished by including certain core elements but not quoting the melody as such.²⁵¹ This further verifies the previous speculations on the similarities between M4 and *Cow Herder's Song No. 1*, as well as *Prelude in D* with *Sondeko*. At the same time, *Lullaby* resembles *Cow Herder's Song No. 1* in its idea of an ascending and descending melody, and furthermore the measures

²⁵¹ Matsudaira later used the theme in *Theme and Variations on Nanbu Lullaby for Piano and Orchestra* (1939). The adaptation in that work is also based on a lullaby-like, tranquil mood.

following the actual motive in M5 (ex. 5.87) also resemble the accompanying figure in the intro (ex. 5.82). These characteristics also connect M5 to the flow of the whole work.



Example 5.86 Theme from *Lullaby* (Matsudaira 1937c, 6).



Example 5.87 *Pastorale*, mm. 33–34 (Matsudaira 1936a, 6).

After the section in D \flat major ends, *Pastorale* presents all the preceding material two more times with minor variations in length, order of appearance, pitch, and instrumental groups performing the motives. The material is not, however, developed any further. While the work makes use of different instrumental groups when presenting the melodies, it does not, for example, use them in counterpoint or synthesize them by weaving together different melodies in a polyphonic manner.

But does this quoting of an earlier work count as “Japanese-style expression?” Aside from the use of motivic elements from *Cow Herder’s Song No. 1*, *Pastorale* does not incorporate a “folksong-like” quality at all. Neither is there a programmatic meaning in quoting a herder’s song and a lullaby; rather, they are used to present contrastive moods. The title “*Pastorale*” hints at the use of folk songs only vaguely—the link is something to be realized only by comparison with Matsudaira’s other works. This underlines the quality of these elements as aesthetic materials. Furthermore, many characteristics in *Pastorale* are not from the original *Nanbu Cow Herder’s Song*, but the song and its piano accompaniment in Matsudaira’s earlier composition. The quotations are such brief passages that even someone familiar with the work is unlikely to recognize them without closer examination. Even this inspiration is, then, concealed.

The idea that *Pastorale* is not only based on folk songs provides an interesting perspective on Matsudaira’s Japanese-style work. It is as if one was looking at the material through an artistic lens, without direct contact with the original songs. This being the primary context, the musical contents in *Pastorale* have, in reality, already been reinterpreted once, and are based on another work rather than original folk songs. In a later account, for example, Matsudaira (1991d, 2) noted that *Six Rustic Dances* did not aim at capturing the mood of the original songs, but was written according to his personal sense of aesthetic—an approach characterizing *Pastorale* as well. In this respect, one can relate to Matsudaira’s (1954a, 10) own comment about his music “lacking the spirit of original folk songs.”

Another work fusing Japanese melodies with an “alienating” accompaniment that is worth examining closer is *Sonatine for Flute and Piano* (1936). It is the first composition where Matsudaira utilized materials from *gagaku*, and also represents a new field for him as the first work of the late 1930s to signify an interest in European neoclassicism.²⁵² Matsudaira (1954a, 12; 1969a, 30) later reminisced about the shock that Tchernepin caused by saying that Debussy’s compositional style was already considered an old-fashioned idiom, and that neoclassicism was regarded as modern, instead. This was a realization for Matsudaira, who had issues with which direction he should follow. His neoclassical period spans well into the postwar years with other sonatas and works of absolute music.

The composer himself (Matsudaira 1948, 41) and many others (e.g. Galliano 2002, 84; Sawabe 2001, 22) have already noted that the *gagaku* quotation occurs in the second movement, which is why the discussion here is based on that movement solely. For comparison, the openings of the first (ex. 5.88) and third (ex. 5.89) movements are already clearly in B minor and represent Western-style composition in terms of melody, harmony, and rhythm.



Example 5.88 *Sonatine for Flute and Piano*, 1st movement (Modéré); mm. 4–11 (Matsudaira 1936b, 2). © Edition Alexandre Tchernepine

²⁵² This is an interesting remark because in a later account, Matsudaira (1969a, 31) described his postwar works adopting Japanese elements as an “antithesis” of neoclassicism. Compare this with Stravinsky, who opposed the use of national elements during his neoclassical period (see Walsh 2001).



Example 5.89 Sonatine for Flute and Piano, 3rd movement (Vivace); mm.
1–8 (Matsudaira 1936b, 11). © Edition Alexandre Tcherepnine

By contrast, the second movement is different in its tranquil mood (ex. 5.90). The *gagaku* melody quoted is from *Chōbōraku* (長保楽), and more precisely, its *kyū* section.²⁵³ According to Matsudaira (1954a, 10), he was not interested in evoking *gagaku* mood, but rather in using certain elements from it as inspiration. Compared with the works discussed above, a significant difference is the source of inspiration. This does not involve only the obvious differences between the social statuses of folk songs and *gagaku*, but also the musical material. The most apparent is that whereas Japanese folk songs typically consist of only one melody without accompaniment, *gagaku* is performed by an ensemble in which each instrument and instrument group have their own distinctive functions. In this aspect, *gagaku* offers a wider range of possibilities for either the imitation or reworking of material, including the adoption of harmony, rhythm, tone colors, structures, and so forth. As *Chōbōraku* belongs to the *komagaku* (高麗楽) repertoire of *gagaku*, or music imported from Korea, these possibilities are somewhat more limited than in the larger *tōgaku* (唐楽) repertoire, or music imported from China. This is because the free reed instrument *shō*—distinctive for the harmony in *gagaku* music of the *tōgaku* repertoire (see ex. 3.4)—or the plucked instruments *koto* and *biwa* are not used in *komagaku*.²⁵⁴

²⁵³ Depending on source, the reading is sometimes also given as *Chōboraku* or *Chōhōraku*. The historical period ranging from 999 to 1004 is written using the same characters and read as “Chōhō.” *Kyū* is the last section in the *jo-ha-kyū* form (see Chapter 3.4).

²⁵⁴ For more on this, see, Garfias (1975) or Endō (2008).



Example 5.90 Sonatine for Flute and Piano, 2nd movement (Andante); mm. 5–12 (Matsudaira 1936b, 9). © Edition Alexandre Tcherepnine

Matsudaira, however, looks at *gagaku* from a viewpoint identical with the works based on folk songs: that of representing the melody quotation in a context alienating it from its origins. For example, let us examine measures 5–12, where the flute first enters after a short piano introduction. *Komagaku* consists of distinctive rhythmic patterns in percussions. There are no traces of these in Sonatine. Matsudaira does not make use of the heterophony occurring between the *hichiriki* and *komabue*,²⁵⁵ either.²⁵⁶ Rather, he has divided the original melody (ex. 5.91) between the flute and piano parts (for example, between measures 6 and 7, where the melody shifts from the piano to the flute). Furthermore, he does not apply the rhythmic concept of *jo-ha-kyū*—a gradually quickening tempo and final return to original—which is fundamental to *gagaku*.



Example 5.91 Melody of *Chōbōraku*. Note that Matsudaira does not follow the original key in his work.

²⁵⁵ *Hichiriki* is a double reed instrument and *komabue* a transverse flute. Other flutes are used as well depending on the type of *gagaku* performed; the most typical one is *ryūteki*, which is used in the *tōgaku* repertoire, or music imported from China.

²⁵⁶ This is, however, natural considering that Matsudaira's encounter with *gagaku* was limited to examining scores transcribed to Western notation. For example, Konoe Hidemaro's version of *Etenraku* (1931) for Western orchestra has the melody performed in unison, which is different from actual *gagaku* practice.

Based on these observations, it seems that the elements from *gagaku* are limited to the quotation of the melody from *Chōbōraku*. Matsudaira realizes this by using a technique familiar from his earlier work, that of combining the quotation with modern harmony and thus alienating it from its original context. Similarly, Sonatine does not quote the melody in *Chōbōraku* as such, but with certain modifications. Parts of the melody are piled up together in measures 5–6 (ex. 5.90), where both the flute and right hand of the piano perform fragments of it.

It most likely affected Matsudaira's approach in that it was only in the postwar period that he first heard a performance of *gagaku* (Galliano 2002, 137). Although probably composed in the postwar period, and possibly after Matsudaira's encounter with actual *gagaku*, the piano piece *Lied II* (*sur le mode "ritsu"*) still follows a similar approach (ex. 5.92).²⁵⁷ It is based on the melody of *Etenraku* in *banshiki* key (ex. 5.93)—a somewhat more uncommon example than the typical and well-known version in *hyōjō* key.²⁵⁸



Example 5.92 *Lied II* (*Sur le mode "ritsu"*), mm. 1–4 (Matsudaira 1991f, 52). © Zenon gakufu shuppansha



Example 5.93 Melody line of *Etenraku* in *banshiki* key. Rhythm is somewhat more relative in actual performance.

²⁵⁷ Matsudaira (1991d, 2) has reminisced that the work was composed in the postwar period, but the exact year remains unknown.

²⁵⁸ See also discussion on this *gagaku* work along Hashimoto's symphony in the previous chapter, and the melody line of this version in example 5.61. Matsudaira's well-known work *Theme and Variations for Piano and Orchestra* (1951) is also based on *Etenraku* in the *banshiki* key. *Etenraku*, unlike *Chōbōraku*, belongs to the originally Chinese *tōgaku* repertoire and thus uses the full *gagaku* ensemble.

The melody in Matsudaira's work is not only presented in a pitch different from the original, but also in such a different context that it becomes difficult to recognize. What causes this effect is the lack of microintervals, heterophony, and glissandos—naturally impossible to realize on the piano—as well as the accompaniment based on Western harmony, for example suggesting a cadence resolving in A major in measure 4. It was only in the 1950s that Matsudaira began adopting materials from *gagaku* on a more thorough level, synthesizing them with contemporary Western compositional techniques, and writing many of his signature works. In that sense, Sonatine for Flute and Piano served as the first step towards these works.

5.4.3 Matsudaira and “Japanese materialism”

Prelude in D, *Pastorale*, and *Sonatine for Flute and Piano*—as well as *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1*—offer a good overview of Matsudaira's prewar music, clearly suggesting that Japanese elements already played an important role for Matsudaira in the prewar period. To be sure, his work would benefit from more traditional music analysis—meaning, for example, analysis of harmony—to reveal the spectrum of his influences from European composers. Still, Matsudaira's method of presenting Japanese materials in a musical language that alienates them from their original context, to the degree that they became unrecognizable, is intriguing compared with more conventional approaches—for example, adoption of the *yonanuki* scale.

At the same time, it is relevant to ask if these works are “Japanese” in style. Matsudaira (1969a, 32) later commented that he did not believe that these works qualify as “Japanese-style” music, and criticized his approach as “materialism”—that is, paying attention only to the concrete adoption of source materials while not giving thought to deeper aspects.²⁵⁹ While this does seem true based on the works discussed here, even the use of materials from traditional music—focusing solely on melody quotations—is perplexingly sparse and selective. For example, *gagaku* would offer numerous musical aspects to rework apart from the quotation of melody. Most likely resulting from this sparse use of materials, Sawabe (2001, 22) has even described Matsudaira's approach in the prewar period as “superficial” and “exoticism.”

While the composer's own criticism, as well as Sawabe's, addresses artistic viewpoints and the utilization of materials, I would like to propose a different perspective and examine what Matsudaira's works ultimately convey—here separated from value judgements. First, it should be noted that the way Matsudaira quotes Japanese melodies in his works exceeds mere exoticism. Musical exoticism, as defined by Ralph P. Locke, is “a quality that links a work to some especially fascinating, attractive, or fearsome place” (Locke 2009, 1), and has colonialist undertones (*ibid.*, 34–42). By contrast, Matsudaira's work

²⁵⁹ It is somewhat difficult to translate the word Matsudaira used in Japanese: *sozai-shugi*. *Sozai* means “material(s),” and *shugi* stands for “-ism” or “ideology.”

does not put any emphasis on the origins of the melodies aside from those rare cases when he presents them in titles.²⁶⁰ Neither does Matsudaira juxtapose Japanese and Western music with each other. Rather, his works blend materials from traditional music into European musical language, to the point that their origins remain almost unrecognizable without careful examination. Through this process, the Japanese elements become concealed, which makes the music “anti-exotic” rather than exotic. This approach could be interpreted as an attempt at finding common ground between Western and Japanese music, and it might be what Matsudaira originally did aim at.²⁶¹ The result, however, does not appear as a search for common ground, but rather as Japanese musical elements being absorbed into an otherwise dominant European framework.

That Japanese qualities “lose out” to European ones in Matsudaira’s prewar work is not a new observation. Even the composer himself commented that when following the examples of Debussy and Ravel—composers whom he admired—the result was something that could not ultimately be called “Japanese-style composition” (Matsudaira 1992, 139). This comment should be taken in its own context: as a critical view stated over fifty years after the composition took place. More interesting than this observation, however, are Matsudaira’s aims.

We do not know how Matsudaira perceived his own work during the prewar years, but it would seem likely that his artistic motivation was not solely to follow French composers. According to Matsudaira’s (1995, 51) postwar writings, he originally befriended Kiyose precisely because of their shared interest in Japanese-style composition. In Kiyose’s case, this belief in the importance of Japanese music was also about opposing the hegemony of Western musical language—ultimately, Western culture. In this sense, Matsudaira’s works could even be regarded as a musical representation of the very same hegemony of Western music. However, the issue is not that simple. To be more exact, it does oppose a hegemony—but one of a more artistic than cultural or social nature. Matsudaira’s opposition of academic approaches to composition—both German and French academism—is well documented in his writings and interviews.²⁶² In this sense, Matsudaira and Kiyose may even be regarded as polar opposites of each other in terms of Japanese-style composition.

But here, once again, we face the question of what truly qualifies as “Japanese-style” composition. In Matsudaira’s case, this crystallizes in his compositional philosophy. It was concluded in the previous chapter that he had two primary goals in composition, both of which were of artistic rather

²⁶⁰ Among Matsudaira’s prewar work, there are only two examples: *Nanbu Folk Song Collection 1*, and *Theme and Variations on Nanbu Lullaby for Piano and Orchestra*.

²⁶¹ What would suggest this was Matsudaira’s interest in French music and its similarities with Japanese aesthetics—therefore enabling the exploration of common ground between these two musical worlds (Matsudaira 1954a, 9; 1992, 139).

²⁶² Matsudaira (1954a; 1969a, 30); for criticism toward the French academism that Ikenouchi Tomojirō brought to Japan, see Matsudaira (1992, 144).

than ideological nature. Those goals were composing in a modern musical language and including Japanese elements in that music. More precisely, both came back to one artistic philosophy, which seems to have remained fundamental to Matsudaira's entire artistic career: that music should reflect its time and place. Matsudaira actually remained critical of his prewar—as well as some postwar—works based on the very claim that they did not keep up with their time (Matsudaira 1963, 124).

But is this criticism justified? I would claim the opposite. Matsudaira's prewar work does contain both elements—contemporary European expression and the use of Japanese materials—as a conscious approach. In that sense, they succeeded in pursuing the very goal that the composer placed on his work—regardless of whether he was satisfied with the results or not. But even more than that, it is significant what the works convey unintentionally. That is, Matsudaira's prewar work is, perhaps even somewhat paradoxically, indeed a portrayal of its own time—that of a musical world and an individual composer at an interesting stage of development, to be appreciated and evaluated on its own rather than regarded simply as a transitional period progressing towards a more profound expression. This perspective does ultimately qualify as “Japanese-style” composition as defined by Moroi (1937): as reflecting the contradictory mood and the social development in Japanese society. Ultimately, Matsudaira's work reflects the stage of development as artistic rather than social.

5.5 Some approaches by other composers

Apart from the composers discussed above, other founding composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei wrote either Japanese-style music or works that, at the very least, present a Japanese theme in their titles or programs. They are too few in number to allow making any generalizations about the composers' styles, but they do offer some interesting viewpoints not discussed above.²⁶³

First, Itō Noboru offers an interesting viewpoint as a composer who did not display an interest in Japanese-style composition, but whose work poses questions of what should be considered fundamentally “Japanese elements” in the music of the time. Itō, who debuted in the late 1920s, became known as an uncompromised modernist with an interest in avant-garde composition and approaches such as atonality, polytonality, microintervals, and free rhythm, and the use of unusual instrumental combinations.²⁶⁴ These approaches were

²⁶³ For the same reason, work of Komatsu Kiyoshi and Heigorō, and Ike Yuzuru and Ishii Gorō is not discussed here, although they did write some Japanese-style works, particularly songs. Note brief references to their work in footnotes with discussion on Kiyose and Hashimoto.

²⁶⁴ For example, the song *Cavalry* (Kihei, 1930) is for a singer, a trumpet, and a tambourine. While the ensemble is logical—the trumpet and tambourine imitate sounds

so novel that they were mostly met with bewilderment (see examples in Akiyama 1975b, 60–61). Consequently, Itō was described as a “futurist” (see Akiyama 1975a, 69), although the composer himself used the word “primitive” (*genshiteki*)²⁶⁵ on many occasions to describe his compositional approach (e.g. Itō 1936; see also Akiyama 1975a, 69). From 1933, Itō focused on composing film music and popular songs.

Like Hashimoto, Itō (1933) associated microtonality with folk songs; the two were the first to write microtonal music in Japan (Akiyama 1975c, 67). Another similarity with Hashimoto was Itō’s goal of creating a compositional style to represent the “contemporary Japanese” (Itō 1936)—an idea somewhat similar with Hashimoto’s discussion of popular music as urban “folk songs.” Still, their approach was fundamentally different. Whereas Hashimoto idealized the people and wanted to represent them musically, Itō searched for the “contemporary Japanese” through his idea of primitivism, which resulted in modern musical expression.

This is perfectly exemplified in his works related to the Ainu,²⁶⁶ such as the song *Around Where Drops of Silver Rain* (*Gin no shizuku furu, furu mawari ni*, 1930). While the Ainu are a population with a culture different from the other parts of Japan, Ainu culture has also sometimes been used in musical works as “Japanese-style composition.”²⁶⁷ However, Itō made use of the Ainu language as a way of bringing music back to its “primitive” roots, by choosing lyrics of Ainu mythology and religious rites (Itō 1934, 242). The approach in *I Sing to the Sun* (*Taiyō ni utau*, 1930) is identical. It was the first song in Japan to be comprised of lyrics of solely A, O, and N (Hosokawa and Katayama 2007, 72). Itō (1934, 242) revealed that this was because it symbolized an ancient rite of worship of the sun, thus awakening the “primitive” origins of music.

Rather than any connection with a Japanese past—or even present—it was primitivism that Itō expressed in these works as well. They were an attempt to separate from all previous traditions, both Western and Japanese, and find “contemporary Japanese” expression in this way (Itō 1936). Eventually, however, Itō’s work was mostly met with bewilderment. He never returned to composing after the war, aside from two film scores dating from 1946—even though the postwar period would most likely have been much more favorable to his approaches.

Suzuki Fumio’s (1900–1945) *Suite on the Tale of Genji* (*Kumikyoku Genji monogatari*, c. 1930), on the other hand, shows that even a very classical

of war drums and horns—it was considered strange in Japan of the 1930s (Akiyama 1975b, 60–61).

²⁶⁵ *Genshiteki* (原始的) means “primitive” or “original.” It does not necessarily suggest a value judgement about being “undeveloped.”

²⁶⁶ The Ainu are a people populating the northernmost island Hokkaidō of Japan. They are genetically and culturally different from the Japanese inhabiting the other islands.

²⁶⁷ Hayasaka Fumio, and even more notably, Ifukube Akira, took influences from the Ainu culture as well. In Hayasaka’s case the most representative such work is the symphonic suite *Yūkar* (1955) based on Ainu sagas. Ifukube composed numerous works with Ainu influences (Katayama 2007, 142). Both composers were active in Hokkaidō before coming to Tokyo.

Japanese program does not necessarily indicate the adoption of Japanese elements in the music. Suzuki was primary known as a cellist rather than as a composer, but wrote at least some works in the early 1930s. *Suite on the Tale of Genji* for a narrator-singer and string quartet is based on the Heian-period (794–1192) novel *Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*), by Murasaki Shikibu (c. 974–c. 1014); it is one of the most well-known works of classical Japanese literature. The words in Suzuki's suite, however, are written by Honma Fumisaku (本間文作).

As a work based on classical culture, one might expect that the music contains influences from traditional music—possibly *gagaku*, the court music of Heian-period nobility. However, this is not the case. Suzuki's music is written in a German-style romantic idiom and, aside from some pentatonic passages, it contains no elements from traditional music. By this approach, the work is also a perfect portrayal of Japanese composition in the early 1930s. Had a work entitled *Tale of Genji* been composed in the late 1930s—when the active general discussion on Japanese-style composition had already started—it would seem unlikely for it not to contain any Japanese elements. Above all, Suzuki's work is thus a reminder of the changes that began to take place in Japan at the time.

Sugawara Meirō (1897–1988) shared Suzuki's interest in classical culture, and like Suzuki did not primarily compose music adopting concrete elements from traditional music. Still, the contrast between Sugawara's work and Suzuki's *Tale of Genji* is notable. Sugawara spent the years 1918–1919 in Nara studying classical Japanese culture, and was also involved in the Shin Nihon Ongaku movement until 1934. Sugawara later commented that regarding works of Shin Nihon Ongaku, he was mostly interested in expressing Edo-period aesthetics (in Akiyama 1974a, 74).²⁶⁸ Yet, he earlier also claimed to have no interest in adopting Japanese elements in his work (see Togashi 1956, 182). Why, then, did he compose many works suggesting an influence from traditional music—and why was he associated with the national school of composition (Kiyose 1963a, 16)? Whatever the motivations behind Sugawara's critical statement, his artistic work requires a closer look in this respect.

Akiyama (1988a, 105) has commented how extraordinary Sugawara's approach to composition was, considering the time: he was already introducing ideas of Les Six to Japan and composing works combining Japanese and Western instruments during a time when most composers still wrote German-style works. In addition to being a composer, Sugawara was a conductor, writer, and teacher. His students included many significant figures of the time, among them the Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei founders Itō Noboru, Mitsukuri Shūkichi, and Yamamoto Naotada, and other prominent composers such as Fukai Shirō, Koseki Yūji (古関裕而, 1909–1989)²⁶⁹, and Yoshida

²⁶⁸ For more on Sugawara and his works, see Akiyama (1974a; 1988a–b).

²⁶⁹ Koseki became a well-known composer of popular music.

Takako (Akiyama 1974a, 75). He wrote several hundred works during his career, several of which were destroyed in the war.²⁷⁰

According to Togashi (1956, 182), much of Sugawara's work has an atmosphere of classical Japanese music of the nobility, but represents technically modern French music and makes no use of Japanese-style harmony. Sugawara commented that he did not intentionally compose Japanese-style music, and that if there was influence from traditional music in his works, it was most likely a result of his studies of classical culture in Nara (see *ibid.*, 182–183). In a later account, however, he remarked that the cultural surroundings of a composer inevitably influence their music, resulting in certain similarities between his work and traditional music (in Akiyama 1974a, 75). Sugawara's own rejection of Japanese harmony and his reference to possibly unintended influences from traditional music are an important key to understanding his artistic output. His rejection of Japanese harmony (Sugawara 1941) is apparent in his musical works, which rarely make use of harmonies resembling traditional Japanese music. At the same time, however, Sugawara makes use of Japanese scales, typically combined with French Impressionist-style harmony.

A representative work indicating an interest both in French Impressionist-style composition and traditional Japanese music is the piano suite *Hakuhō Songs* (*Hakuhō no uta*; 白鳳の歌, 1930–1932). The title refers to the Hakuhō period (app. 645–710).²⁷¹ The work consists of three movements related to Classical Japan: *Rōkechi* (蔦籬, 1930), *Wagon* (和琴, 1933) and *Suien* (水煙, 1932). *Rōkechi* and *Wagon* were inspired by items in the collections of Shōsōin treasure house of Tōdaiji temple in Nara, whereas *Suien* was inspired by the *suien* on the top of the Eastern pagoda at Yakushiji Temple in Nara (Horiuchi 1957, 225).²⁷² Sugawara was influenced by classical Japanese culture during his years in Nara; *Story of Celebration* (*Saiten monogatari*, 1925–1928) was also based on a Buddhist celebration in Nara. As a work with a context related to classical Japanese culture, one could suppose *Hakuhō Songs* would include concrete allusions to traditional music as well. On the surface, however, this is not the case, and apart from this observation the work is similar to Suzuki's *Tale of Genji*. Before discussing this further, let us first examine the work more closely.

Unlike Suzuki's work, *Hakuhō Songs* is clearly inspired by French Impressionists, both in the use of harmonic and melodic material and the lack of clear-cut form. The opening of *Suien* (ex. 5.94), for example, recalls the work of French Impressionists.

²⁷⁰ See list of Sugawara's works in Sugawara 1998 (1–100, in reverse order).

²⁷¹ To be more exact, the “Hakuhō period” is an unofficial name for the cultural period ranging from approximately 645 (the beginning of the Taika Reforms) to 710 (the beginning of the Nara period).

²⁷² *Rōkechi* is a type of decoration in Buddhist art. *Wagon* refers to the six-string Japanese *koto*, different from the Chinese 13-string *koto*; the *wagon* in Shōsōin is very decorative. *Suien* refers to a decoration on the top of pagodas. Shōsōin is a famous treasure house holding numerous artefacts from the Nara period.



Example 5.94 *Suien*, mm. 1–4 (Sugawara 1960, 14).
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Although the work has obviously been inspired by Japanese culture, this is not apparent on the musical level. This applies to all three pieces, but is best illustrated in the second piece, *Wagon*. A work with a title referring to an instrument—even though inspired more by an item than by music—hints at the possibility of Japanese elements. However, the harmonies in *Wagon* rather resemble French Impressionism than a “Japanese” compositional style. The melody or harmony do not suggest influences from a *wagon*, either.

Suien, on the other hand, presents some Japanese elements. This occurs in a melody that is presented several times, for example in measures 43–45 (ex. 5.95). The melody, based on *miyakobushi* and *min'yō* tetrachords, resembles those met in traditional music. This is, however, merely a glimpse of what might be called Japanese-style composition among the otherwise French Impressionist-style work.



Example 5.95 *Suien*, mm. 43–45 (Sugawara 1960, 17).
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How should we interpret this approach? Examining *Hakuhō Songs* shows that even if a work is inspired by classical culture, this does not necessarily result in concrete musical Japanese qualities. In Sugawara’s music, we encounter another type of approach: one that focuses on presenting *impressions* rather than an exact portrayal.

This aspect is perfectly exemplified in another work, the orchestral composition *Akashi Strait* (*Akashi kaikyō*, 1939). It was written as one of the seventeen *kokuminshikyoku* and was thus required to use folk melodies. The work does not, however, evoke a feeling of folk songs, but rather an overall *gagaku*-like mood. The effect is the result of the continuous harmonic clusters based on intervals of the fourth and fifth, resembling the *aitake* chords in *gagaku* (ex. 3.4). The steady repetition of percussion rhythms—performed by Japanese *taiko* drums—in *Akashi Strait* recalls the use of the *kakko* drum in *gagaku*. The overall repetitive nature of the work resembles many *gagaku* pieces as well. It also resembles some of Hayasaka's compositions—for example, *Overture in D*, written for the festivities of 1940. Hayasaka was well-known for his integration of *gagaku* elements into his own musical language (Satō 2002, 7). We should not forget, either, that it was Sugawara's movie score resembling *gagaku* that was banned during the immediate postwar period, because this influence was regarded as possibly nationalist by the occupation censorship (Akiyama 1974b, 169). All of these characteristics seem to suggest influence from *gagaku*.

However, as *Akashi Strait* was composed as a work of *kokuminshikyoku*, it is naturally not based on *gagaku*, but on a folk song of the Akashi region. Even the drums used in the original performance were those from the region (Akiyama 1988b, 94); *taiko* drums are typically used in various folk festivities in Japan. An explanation to this somewhat confusing material is offered by Hayasaka (1942c, 135), who recognized similarities with *gagaku*, as well, but remarked that they are unintended. Perhaps it is, indeed, this “unintended” quality—asserted by the composer himself as well (see Togashi 1956, 182)—that best exemplifies the nature of Japanese qualities in Sugawara's work. Rather than presenting a folk melody in an easily recognizable form, *Akashi Strait* remains suggestive toward its influences: it certainly reflects aspects of them, but does not imitate them as such. The approach resembles that of Matsudaira, in that both introduce a concealing aspect. Whereas Matsudaira's work presents quotations from Japanese music in a form that simply makes it difficult to recognize them, however, Sugawara's influences are more abstract in nature. Thus, it is not surprising that Sugawara (1941) so strongly opposed the idea of Japanese harmony, for example.

While *Hakuhō Songs* and *Akashi Strait* are only two examples, a similar approach is met in Sugawara's other works, as well.²⁷³ The “Japanese” in his music is, above all, encountered in the source of inspiration, which has then influenced the works as well. It evokes *impressions* of traditional Japanese music and culture, and thus connects him with Kiyose's approach; it is, in a sense, Japanese culture perceived from the viewpoint of French Impressionist-style composition. This is also a connection with traditional Japanese aesthetics. As discussed, Kiyose asserted the similarity of French and

²⁷³ For example, see *Woman Playing the Flute* (*Fue fuki me*, 1931) for flute and narrator, *Suite* (*Kumikyoku*, 1933) for piano, and vocal works such as *Poème pour homage a Ruin d'Ohmi* (*Ōmi kōto no toki*, 1933) and *Untitled* (*Mudai*, 1933).

Japanese sensibilities, and similarities have since been noted in many studies, as well (e.g. Motiekaitis 2011). For Sugawara, the Japanese influences might have been unintended, but in many cases his approach had interesting results.

The most conventional approach to Japanese-style composition—that of combining pentatonic melodies with Western functional harmony—is exceptional among all of the works discussed in this study. Yamamoto Naotada's (1904–1965) *Japanese Fantasy No. 1* (*Nihon gensōkyoku dai-ichiban*, 1939), however, takes this approach.²⁷⁴ Yamamoto was an influential conductor, composer, and music educator, who also published numerous books and articles on music. He studied music both in Japan and the West, in North America and Europe (Yamamoto 1953, 49–50), and was a moderately active composer, writing some piano, vocal, and orchestral works during the 1930s.²⁷⁵ Yamamoto received attention as composer after receiving the first prize in Ongaku konkuru in 1934, for the orchestral work *Days of Youth* (*Seishun jidai*). His first encounter with the idea of including Japanese elements in his music came from his teacher Paul Graener in Leipzig (Yamamoto 1953, 51). He also collaborated with Miyagi Michio in 1936 with the performance of Miyagi's *Sea at Spring* for *koto* and orchestra. However, Yamamoto did not write that many works with a Japanese theme, and, as already discussed in Chapter 4.5, did not really comment on the topic either, but was much more involved in Western-style composition in general.

There is, however, one composition among his prewar works requiring a closer look in this respect. This work is *Japanese Fantasy No. 1* for orchestra. It was written as one of the 17 works of *kokuminshikyoku*. The work begins with a virtuosic section by the piano, focusing on a series of arpeggios which resolve into a dramatic cadenza. These broken chords turn into accompaniment for the orchestra playing the first quotation, “Sakura sakura” (ex. 5.19). While Yamamoto's version includes some chromaticism, it remains faithful to the original melody and approaches it conventionally by handing the scale as G minor *yonanuki*. The song is varied only slightly in terms of rhythm; the variation is related more to changes in instrumentation each time the theme is played. The virtuosic parts of the piano serve as interludes between verses, but also as bridges connecting quoted melodies with each other. After “Sakura, sakura,” the work goes on quoting “Edo Lullaby.”²⁷⁶ While the accompaniment includes some chromaticism, the melody (ex. 5.96) is otherwise treated as adopting a minor *yonanuki* scale and is accompanied by Western functional harmony.

²⁷⁴ The work was originally titled *Japanese Fantasy* (*Nihon gensōkyoku*). The addition of the number came after Yamamoto composed the second *Japanese Fantasy* with the subtitle “Nostalgia” (*Bōkyō*) for two *kotos* and orchestra in 1944.

²⁷⁵ He is also known as the father of composer and conductor Yamamoto Naozumi (山本直純, 1932–2002).

²⁷⁶ The song was also mentioned in Chapter 5.1.2. along with the discussion of Mitsukuri's work.



Example 5.96 Melody of “Edo Lullaby” as quoted in Yamamoto’s *Japanese Fantasy*.

Following “Edo Lullaby,” the work next quotes a melody—possibly a folk song—in a livelier mood, based on the *min’yō* scale. The last quotation is from “Esashi oiwake,” a folk song originating from Hokkaidō. The original song—as with *oiwake* songs in general—is known for its melismatic singing style (Koizumi 1958, 92–94). *Japanese Fantasy* takes a more subdued approach, however, retaining some aspects of the melismatic style but not being as decorative as the way that the original song was typically performed in the 1930s.²⁷⁷

The third quotation and “Esashi oiwake” form the middle section in *Japanese Fantasy*, shifting the mood from the melancholic and dramatically-presented minor melodies to livelier folk songs. After “Esashi oiwake,” the work reprises “Edo Lullaby” and “Sakura sakura” (in this order) and ends in a climax with the two being played simultaneously.²⁷⁸ Finally, the work closes with a quotation from the ending of Taki Rentarō’s *Moon Over a Ruined Castle* (ex. 5.97).



Example 5.97 Closing gesture of *Moon Over a Ruined Castle* and *Japanese Fantasy*.

Considering Yamamoto’s method of combining Japanese melodies with Western functional harmony, it is not surprising that *Japanese Fantasy* is described as “conservative” by Katayama (2004, 61). The original material distinguishing the work from being mere four separate arrangements of Japanese folk songs for piano orchestra is limited to the virtuosic piano interludes, which serve the function of a bridge and set the mood for the following quotations. Of all works discussed in this study, *Japanese Fantasy*

²⁷⁷ For comparison, listen to recordings of the song by Miura Tameshichirō (三浦為七郎, 1884–1950), a well-known performer of *Esashi oiwake*.

²⁷⁸ Note how this resembles Hashimoto’s nationalist works discussed in Chapter 5.3.

is the one that most corresponds to the criticism that the national school of composition had to face about writing Japanese melodies to Western harmony. It is no surprise that *Japanese Fantasy* was one of those works of *kokuminshikyoku* that Hayasaka (1942c, 156–158) criticized by commenting that it did not qualify as serious Japanese-style composition. Hayasaka (ibid., 145–147) saw that music combining Japanese melodies with Western harmony instead of modern approaches was “vulgarly simple” and “aimed for export.” Among all works discussed in this study, *Japanese Fantasy* is the one most clearly aiming at a “national” reception. Ultimately—and even ironically—it succeeded as the only *kokuminshikyoku* released as a record. This was possibly because it was the only one to quote well-known Japanese tunes, therefore clearly fulfilling the idea of “national poems” and containing elements recognizable to everyone (Katayama 2004, 61).

While *Japanese Fantasy* does not offer anything particularly new in musical terms, it is a portrait of its time and indicator of changes in Japanese music culture. It is certainly not an example of a Japanese composer searching for common ground or contrasts between Japanese and Western music. Rather, it is a sign of Japanese composition turning to a conventional style and promoting easily recognized quotations from traditional music combined with Western harmony—the very style that the composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei originally opposed. In this aspect, the shift from the innovative works of the early 1930s to the more conventional approaches of the late decade perfectly, and sadly, illustrates the development towards the years of “halted development.”

5.6 Conclusions

Regardless of whether they were aiming at a Japanese idiom of composition or using materials for other goals, musical works by composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei exemplify how the adoption of Japanese elements led to a broad range of versatile approaches. Rather than following a shared methodology through collaboration, individual composers experimented with musical languages notably different from each other. The following three principles can be recognized in these approaches.

- 1) Pursuing the aim of creating a national idiom of composition by synthesizing aspects of Japanese and Western music, as represented by Mitsukuri and Kiyose. Although their discussion and analysis differ from each other, both followed intuitional approaches. Despite denying interest in Japanese-style composition, some of Sugawara’s works belong to this category as well.
- 2) Utilizing materials from Japanese music to achieve an expressive goal, typically to convey a meaning or nuance in a program. This approach was common, but its method of concrete application varied

greatly from composer to another. Whereas Hashimoto paid close attention to the nature of the elements he utilized, works such as Yamamoto's *Japanese Fantasy* are based simply on combining Japanese melodies with Western harmony. *Shin min'yō* and other songs by the Komatsu brothers belong to this category as well.

- 3) Adopting elements from traditional music in all kinds of works as a means of connecting the music with its geographic origin. This was Matsudaira's approach. While this type is closely related to both types 1 and 2, the way of presenting these materials is altogether different: they are integrated in the musical language (as in type 1), but their origin remains identifiable (as in type 2). A similar approach is also encountered in some of Sugawara's works, particularly in *Akashi Strait*.

One could also argue for a fourth approach, that of not using any audibly Japanese elements but regarding it as a composer's duty to express contemporary Japan in their work. This aspect is encountered in the writings of Hashimoto and Itō. In the work by both composers, it led to avant-garde composition and popular songs—both representing a modernized, Westernized Japan. As it does not, however, relate to general discussion on Japanese-style composition in the 1930s or contain elements like those presented in Chapter 3.4, it is excluded as its own category in this study. Similarly, I have not included here the potential fifth aspect, that of *not* adopting Japanese elements or discussing composition as a reflection of its time.

Whichever the approach, I find it noteworthy that nearly all the composers had experimented with Japanese elements already by the beginning of the 1930s, which was unusual at the time. Matsudaira later commented on having been angry at those composers who began to write “superficially Japanese-style music” to appeal to foreign musicians after Tcherpnin had contributed to the international careers of many composers (in Akiyama 2003, 293). This is only one opinion among others, but it does exemplify that composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei had a genuine interest in Japanese-style composition from an early stage.

The phenomenon described by Matsudaira, however, also portrays another interesting development to which Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei contributed. Komiya (1976) and Akiyama (1979) have associated the activities of the society with the rise of instrumental music, the introduction of new compositional styles, and a growing interest in Japanese-style composition toward the late 1930s. For example, several founding members were commissioned for works for either the *kokuminshikyoku* or the festivities of 1940. This indicates a development during which the non-academic “outsiders” of the year 1930 had become recognized figures over a period of less than a decade. From this point of view, Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei played a critical role in establishing and developing composition in Japan in general. Equally important, however, is to

recognize the changes that began taking place after the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937. For example, it marked the rise of nationalism in Hashimoto's work, and led to a stylistic change in Kiyose's music as well. From this viewpoint, Shibaike's (1996, 243) and Katayama's (2007, 59) remarks on the development of Western-style composition in Japan as coming to a halt at this time are justified.

In Chapter 3.4, I introduced a list of musical traits to identify Japanese elements in Western-style composition. As the analyses above show, the six items on the list can serve as a useful tool to recognize Japanese elements. The characteristics as musical qualities, however, represent mere projections of a more important aspect: that of recognizing compositional philosophies and ideas that go beyond artistic expression. For example, all composers discussed in this study adopted Japanese scales in their works—and yet the meaning and aesthetic result of their use is entirely different in each case. This also stresses how much studying the thought of each composer affects the contextualization of their musical work.

But how do their approaches fit the original goal of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei as a society promoting *modern* music? Here, again, I believe that the answer is found in the social and temporal context of their origin. First, they contributed to the development and standardization of the phenomenon of Japanese-style composition. Second, they were, at the same time, original from the same perspective—as Japanese-style composition occurring in prewar Japan. For example, even though the approach of introducing scales of traditional genres in musical works was not a new idea as such, the methods were based on the composers' knowledge of Japanese music. Both Mitsukuri and Kiyose proved their understanding of the use of Japanese scales before a consistent theory on the topic had been established. More importantly, many of the composers aiming to synthesize Western and Japanese music employed approaches that were novel in this context.

One example in this context is an interest shared by several composers, that of impressionist-style composition. Many Japanese-style composers wrote their music as what could be called “Japanese impressionism”—a musical language incorporating certain aesthetics of French Impressionist-style music. This was also a reaction to the predominance of German music in Japan, which, again, is a similarity with Debussy, as described by Motiekaitis (2011, 109): “The predominance of German music in the Romantic tradition, the cult of Wagner in France, standardized harmony taught in conservatories—these were the aspects Debussy was confronting with a wish for a distinct, French artistic identity.” The search for a Japanese musical identity and opposing the predominance of German-style music were the aims of Kiyose and Matsudaira, but also to some extent Mitsukuri, Hashimoto, and possibly Sugawara. Ironically, however, both Mitsukuri and Hashimoto eventually also composed German-style works, and even introduced Japanese elements to this approach, as did Yamamoto with his combinations of Western functional harmony and Japanese melodies. In this context, previous studies' claim that Shinkō

sakkyokuka renmei uniformly opposed German music and forms such as fugue (Akiyama 1979, 11; Matsushita 1999, 1) is exaggerated.

Analysis of the musical works suggest what I already speculated on in Chapter 4, that the works of the 1930s indicate that not all Japanese-style composition was nationalist, and that not all nationalist composition was Japanese-style. Hashimoto's work is a fitting example of this. His nationalist wartime works follow German-style composition and a militaristic idiom, with Japanese elements used mostly as mere decorative characteristics without any deeper function. By contrast, those works incorporating Japanese elements on a more profound level and pay attention to the social implications of the original genres, do not connect with nationalist, but rather national aspirations.

Ultimately, rather than being about ultranationalism, the use of Japanese elements was essentially about expressing *Japanese identity*—a quality that appears as a counterpart for Western elements in music. This was an attribute shared by all of the composers, regardless of whether they discussed and utilized Japanese elements as ideologically as Kiyose, or as technically as Matsudaira. The versatility of this expression ultimately reflects the compositional situation of the time, with its various, even contradictory, approaches. As the writings discussed in Chapter 4 already suggested, this phenomenon also paradoxically demonstrated that Western art music—and Western culture—had already taken root to the degree that composers of the time were both able to, but also felt the need to, express their own national identity in musical works in some way. That this expression took so many different forms in works by composers of the time further underlines not only that Japanese culture was not a monolith—perhaps it would be more apt to use the term *Japanese identities*—but also that Japanese-style composition was a musical language that could indeed be used to fuse modernism and traditionalism. In this sense, it ultimately portrays that which Mitsukuri (1929, 3) asserted in his very first treatise on Japanese harmony: that all true national music is fundamentally international by nature.

6 Discussion

Through the findings of this study, Japanese-style composition in the 1930s appears as a complex search for Japanese identity in a Westernized—and Westernizing—society. This idea is naturally present already in the very musical language that was used, which is based on Western principles but approached from a Japanese perspective. But, as my analyses in this thesis show, closer examination also reveals more specific viewpoints: the motivation for this search stemmed from different backgrounds, as did the musical approaches to accomplishing it. Not only did Japanese-style composition appear as an artistic device to develop Western art music from a Japanese point of view, it was also used as an ideological tool to oppose Western hegemony in musical terms, and even to support state nationalism. It emerged as both composition that introduced concrete allusions to traditional Japanese music in individual works, and also as new musical languages—or Japanese idioms of composition—that sought to renew expression altogether by synthesizing fundamental aspects of Western and Japanese music. Therefore, it is easy to see that although Japanese-style composition is largely defined by the use of elements from traditional Japanese culture in musical works, the concrete approaches are versatile and different from each other.

These findings also clarify the relationship between Japanese society and musical works, or the realities that musical works convey. This idea of the work and thought of composers as the communication—or reflection—of larger phenomena intertwined with the socio-cultural sphere is a salient aspect of Japanese-style works of the 1930s. In this context, Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei's early slogan “march from the age of imitation to the age of creation” appears deceptively as an artistic “march.” On a more fundamental level, it was not solely about music or artistic expression. It is true that each composer discussed Japanese elements as a method of developing and renewing expression in Western art music, and it was, indeed, possibly the only goal that they consciously recognized and followed. Their work, however, simultaneously addresses and reflects the social issues of the time. This also applies, naturally, to other discourses, such as the critical views of the time. In this context, it is revealing that Kiyose noted only in the postwar period that Japanese qualities in Western-style composition was actually a “complex” destined to emerge in prewar Japan. This “complex” did not ultimately involve only those writing Japanese-style music, but also those opposing it.

Even if they do not always explicitly state their intentions, the thoughts of these Japanese composers—an aspect that has received only limited attention in previous research—play an integral part in the interpretation of what their musical work fundamentally means and communicates, or what it “was trying to do” (Steinberg 2004, 4). For instance, without addressing Kiyose's writings that reflect issues of the time by somewhat confusingly merging discussion of

music with discussion of social issues, his work would appear as little more than an artistic expression emphasizing the use of pentatonic scales. On the other hand, reading only his texts—which offer only a limited explanation of the use of scales, for example—without inspecting his musical work would suggest that his discussion of music was merely an excuse to address the social issues of the time. To give another example: without understanding Hashimoto's aspiration to write music “for the people” and draw inspiration from music “of the people,” his works representing a myriad genres might seem contradictory and inconsistent. Ultimately, each composer's thoughts and musical works are not independent objects, but inseparable not only from each other, but also from their temporal and geographic origins. This, again, emphasizes their role as what could be characterized as discourses: the worldview that they present can sometimes be contradictory even with itself, but through this very aspect they portray and stay true to their origins, and echo the complex issues of Japanese society and music of the time.

The analytical approach I proposed in Chapter 3 of this thesis thus contributes to understanding what Japanese-style composition is—and has been—both generally and in the context of the 1930s. Examining Japanese elements as a consciously-adopted tool for musical expression—a musical discourse, so to say—rather than as an inevitable outcome of a composer's (imagined) nationality reveals the versatile aspects and motivations that they convey and communicate. This approach is closely linked with the thought of the time, which is why it also proves fruitful to acknowledge the existence of predominant discourses such as the *nihonjinron*, to contextualize the views and opinions presented during different time periods. This is an approach that will, I hope, gradually extend to discussion on established postwar composers as well.

The results of this study contribute to research on the individual composers discussed in more detail as well. The diversity of Japanese-style composition—as seen in the analyses in Chapters 4 and 5—is exemplified in the work and thought of the composers, all of whom constitute an important part of the history of both Japanese-style and Western-style composition in Japan. Although previous studies have suggested that composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei shared the goal of adopting elements from traditional music (Herd 2004, 44–45) and synthesizing them with French Impressionism (Akiyama 1979, 12), my findings do not support these views. Mitsukuri's theoretical account differs significantly from Kiyose's ideological views, which merge discussion about music and society. Both aspired to creating a Japanese idiom of composition, and demonstrated the expression of Japanese identity by musical means, but in different contexts and in altogether different idioms. Hashimoto's works allude to distinctive genres of traditional music as avant-garde expression, but also as a means of conveying programs of his works—including nationalist ones. Matsudaira sought inspiration in melodies of traditional music as a means of localization, but in a way that utilized them as technical “materials.” Works by other founding composers comprise various

approaches to harmony and aesthetics, ranging from experimental viewpoints to relatively superficial methods of combining Japanese melodies with Western functional harmony. All of them represent Japanese-style composition, but neither as a shared idiom, nor as shared motivations.

Close examination of the composers of the time also shows that they were on a search for their own voice in an international context of music. This contradicts, for example, with the postwar composer Nishimura Akira's (西村朗, b. 1953) statement that it was only in the 1970s that Japanese composers began to make serious attempts to find their own voices (see Wade 2014, 213). Nishimura's wording leaves space for speculation—one can debate on what ultimately qualifies as a “serious attempt”—but even so, it also reflects another typical issue: the view that “true” Japanese-style composition actually emerged only in the postwar period. This has led to the situation where several studies have claimed that Japanese-style composition of the prewar period was “superficial” or “unsuccessful”²⁷⁹—a view that surfaces, in particular, when juxtaposing prewar and postwar composers. Ironically, it generalizes that the methods followed of utilizing materials of traditional music to expand expression in Western-style composition, such as those applied by Hashimoto and Itō, were “unsuccessful” solely due to their time of emergence, while simultaneously hailing the very same approaches in the case of postwar composers such as Takemitsu.

This is possibly also why previous scholarship has mostly not recognized several important links between the composer generations separated by the war. The assessment of the artistic “successfulness” of their music is of secondary importance in this context, but one characteristic related to the change from prewar to postwar certainly requires more attention: the influence that prewar composers had on Western art music composition in Japan of the twentieth century.

The rise of Japanese-style composition to a recognized phenomenon, the interest in modern expression, and the international connections formed with foreign composers—all during a time span of merely a decade—contributed significantly to the development of music culture of the time. Some of these developments also impacted the postwar period, and in this development, Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei played a crucial role. First, Mitsukuri's initial treatise on Japanese harmony in 1929 already proposed the foundation of a society like Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei, and it seems likely that his theory contributed to the founding of the society. Considering the importance that the society had—particularly after becoming the Japanese branch of the ISCM and thus serving a musical link between composers in the West and Japan—the impact of Mitsukuri's theory was also notable in the postwar period, when the Japan Society for Contemporary Music was re-founded in 1946 and Mitsukuri assumed the position of the society's first chair. There is no doubt

²⁷⁹ See, for example, Heifetz (1984, 445); Nordgren (1989, 50), and Burt (2001, 15–17). Several other studies imply similar views; see criticism of this in Pacun (2012).

that the international contacts created already during the prewar period helped in establishing the society, and fostered the impressive internationalization that Japanese composers were to follow after the war.

Second, several composers influenced the following generation as their teachers. As already noted, it seems likely that Kiyose influenced the young Takemitsu significantly.²⁸⁰ While Takemitsu did not assimilate or copy Kiyose's ideas as such, he transformed some aspects of them into his own artistic expression, which became widely-recognized and celebrated internationally. Takemitsu (1989, 203) also regarded his generation of Japanese-style composers as the "children or grandchildren" of Matsudaira. By this, he did not refer only to Matsudaira's unwillingness to write nationalist music during the war—an issue relevant to postwar composers deeply disappointed in their elders—but also to his musical approaches. Hashimoto, on the other hand, taught many of the celebrated and recognized postwar composers as the professor of the Tokyo Academy of Music. It is natural that he unavoidably had at least some influence on all of his pupils, but particularly Mayuzumi Toshirō, Dan Ikuma, and Nakada Yoshinao incorporated elements so distinctively present in Hashimoto's approaches that they seem more than simply a coincidence. This involves the view that any kind of musical material was worth using as inspiration for composition—which was also evident in Mayuzumi's work—but also the interest in vocal music and composing "for the people" by defying the barriers between "art music" and "popular music"—an approach taken up by Dan and Nakada.

Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was also a federation that offered opportunities to both young composers and musicians to present their skills and ideas, which could be difficult to do in the music world of the time. Through this support, it contributed to the careers of those founding members who were primarily musicians, and who became influential figures in Japan after the war as well. Saitō Hideo, for example, was not only a recognized conductor and composer, but came to serve as the rector of the acclaimed Toho Gakuen School of Music and as teacher to the internationally-acclaimed Ozawa Seiji (小澤征爾, b. 1935), among others. Other founding members who became teachers and professors, or founders of music schools (see detailed list in Someya et al. 1999, 360–378), had a similar impact on the postwar generation. While their influence on the history of Japanese music can be difficult to pinpoint exactly, they also served as links between generations of composers and musicians.

It is, however, equally important to acknowledge that not all pioneering approaches had a direct influence on the postwar generation, even when the influence would seem likely. In some cases, the composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei presented novel ideas that were, however, ahead of their time and did not immediately take root in the musical world, but surfaced again separately in the postwar period. This applies particularly to Itō. Despite

²⁸⁰ See also Takemitsu's own discussion on Kiyose (e.g. Takemitsu Tōru 1995, 57; Ozawa and Takemitsu 1984, 139); see also Sano (2011).

being the first to introduce new European trends to Japan, his work was too modern to establish any foothold during its own time. When his approaches would have possibly been understood better, he stopped composing and most likely did not have any influence on postwar composers. Itō, however, reflects another important phenomenon, the rising interest in modernist composition already during the 1930s. Even though Hashimoto (1937a, 35) commented that Japanese composers were still not ready for techniques such as dodecaphony and microtonal composition at the end of the 1930s, Japanese composers were generally becoming more and more aware of international trends. With the beginning of the war—or wars—however, international influences were not able to be shared around the globe freely, nor were musicians and composers able to travel. This would change only in the postwar period. Through these examples, one cannot but agree with Kuroppenshutain's (2005) view of the war not as a barrier entirely impermeable to prewar cultural influences, but rather as a “filter” through which several ideas passed and were possibly transformed, others not.

Here, however, the discussion has already touched on not only the thoughts, musical works, and compositional approaches of these composers, but also the other roles that they played—that of teachers, writers, school founders, and so forth. This exemplifies how discussing musical works can indeed contribute to the understanding of significant social phenomena and their representations in art, but is not an adequate approach to understanding them in their all diversity. In this sense, this study has sketched answers to some issues while leaving numerous others still open.

First, even though this study sheds light on the work and thought of the composers discussed, the results should, above all, serve as a starting point for a more analytical discussion of how issues of identity and origin can reveal further social and cultural links between music and the society when examined through more theoretical approaches. In this respect, research on the Japanese music of the prewar period still has a lot to catch up with compared with general research on the period.

Second, even though Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei played a crucial role in the development of music in Japan, I have only briefly touched on other significant composers of the time. For instance, Hayasaka Fumio and Ifukube Akira are among those prewar composers that are recognized even today as important representatives of the national school.²⁸¹ In addition to recognized composers such as they, more attention should also be given to the work of other highly interesting composers such as Fukai Shirō, Hirao Kishio, Kishi Kōichi, Moroi Saburō, Ōsawa Hisato, and Yoshida Takako. The list of composers that this study has not even mentioned goes on, such as Hattori Tadashi (服部正, 1908–2008), Otaka Hisatada (尾高尚忠, 1911–1951), Sugata Isotarō (須賀田礒太郎, 1907–1952), Toyama Michiko (外山道子, 1913–2006), and Yamada Kazuo

²⁸¹ However, their fame today is based on their work in the film industry: Hayasaka's scores for Kurosawa Akira's films, including *The Seven Samurai*, and Ifukube's music for the *Godzilla* films.

(山田一雄, 1912–1991). Even though it was a significant actor in the history of prewar composition in Japan, Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was, after all, only one among many groups. Exploring all their various views in all their versatility and complexity would give an even better understanding of what the music world of the time was about.

Third, discussion on music of the prewar period should naturally be expanded from Japanese-style composition to other phenomena as well—a need also reflected in the works of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei. Their significance in prewar music notwithstanding, Japanese elements represent only one aspect of the work of composers like Hashimoto. At the worst, obsession with Japanese-style composition succumbs to what took place already in Japan of the 1930s, when only those composing in a markedly Japanese style succeeded in receiving international recognition. This also concerns contemporary discussion: it limits our perception of the complexity and heterogeneity that Japanese composition was in general characterized by. Works of the time reflect a musical world at an interesting stage of development, which should be evaluated on its own terms rather than by comparing it to the postwar situation or contemporary trends in Europe in a judgmental manner. Only by careful examination of the composers' approaches can we try to understand what composition in Japan is and has been about.

Finally, this idea also extends to the broader discussion of Japanese society. Music is never separate or exclusive from the surrounding reality, and this applies most significantly also to the composers and phenomena discussed in this study. Western music has taken various roles and forms in Japan—as has Western culture—but depending on the time period, those roles have varied greatly. Composers, musicians, and music—regardless of type and genre—not only reflect but also take part in shaping what Japanese society is with its versatile, even contradictory approaches. Examining these points not only contributes to our understanding of both Japanese and extra-European music in general, but also serves as one key to understanding the meanings that the idea of “Japanese” has had in society during different times.

From this point of view, one can finally formulate a relatively simple answer to the issue of what is “Japanese” in the music of the 1930s. The question has resulted in heated debates, but has also fascinated composers both in Japan and globally up to this day. Whereas dealing with the question has largely involved the examination of musical material, it is not so much researching methods of expression, or understanding the fundamental qualities of traditional Japanese music or culture, that provides the most fundamental answer. Rather than inspecting the works and approaches of individual composers, understanding the issue requires recognizing a wider perspective.

Let us, once more, return to the observations of Moroi Saburō, who in 1937 saw that Japanese composers should reflect their modernizing society and its contradictory mood in their music, and criticized the national school of composition for simply adopting materials of the past as musical exoticism to

appeal to foreign audiences. However—although possibly not doing so consciously—all composers active in the 1930s ultimately contributed to the portrayal of and communication with society through music. Regardless of whether they were interested only in musical expression, or in assimilating Western music as such, or asserting ultranationalism, all music of the time portrays, conveys, and echoes the reality of the 1930s. It is this very portrayal that most magnificently reflects both the beauty and the tragedy that all the contradictions in prewar Japan ultimately represented.

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APPENDIX 1 : Persons discussed in the study

Founding composers of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei are marked with an asterisk. For a comprehensive list of all persons involved in the society, see Someya et al. (1999, 360–378).

*** HASHIMOTO, KUNIIHIKO (1904–1949)**

橋本國彦; also Qunihico; also 國彦
A composer and professor of the Tokyo Academy of Music.
Discussed in Chapters 4.3 and 5.3.

HAYASAKA, FUMIO (1914–1955)

早坂文雄

One of the most well-recognized composers of the national school. An active theorist, but known primarily for his postwar film scores for Kurosawa Akira's movies.

*** IKE, YUZURU (1902–1990)**

池譲

Composer, violinist, and conductor. Graduated the Tokyo Academy of Music in 1920, studied violin and composition in Germany 1921 to 1925.

ISAWA, SHŪJI (1851–1917)

伊沢修二

Founder of the Tokyo Academy of Music. Inventor of the yonanuki scale and composer of some vocal music.

*** ISHII, GORŌ (1909–1990)**

石井五郎

Studied composition in Japan and in Europe in 1937–1938. A founder of the composer group School of New Music (Shin ongakuha) in 1934.

*** ITŌ, NOBORU (1903–1993)**

伊藤昇

A modernist whose works were not understood in their time. A founder of the composer group School of New Music (Shin ongakuha) in 1934. Discussed briefly in Chapters 4.5 and 5.5.

*** KIYOSE, YASUJI (1900–1981)**

清瀬保二

A composer strongly advocating Japanese-style composition. Teacher of Takemitsu Tōru. Discussed in more detail in Chapters 4.2 and 5.2.

KOIZUMI, FUMIO (1927–1983)

小泉文夫

An ethnomusicologist who theorized on scales in Japanese traditional music in 1958.

*** KOMATSU, HEIGORŌ (1897–1953)**

小松平五郎

A composer active in organizing Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei. Worked mostly as a conductor, but composed many works of vocal

music, including shin min'yō.
Brother of Komatsu Kiyoshi and
Kōsuke.

*** KOMATSU, KIYOSHI (1899–1975)**

小松清

A writer, composer, conductor and translator, who also served as professor in various institutions. Scholar of French poetry (not to be mistaken for the scholar of French literature of the same name). Composer of shin min'yō. Brother of Komatsu Heigorō and Kōsuke.

*** KONDŌ, HAKUJIRŌ (1900–1932)**

近藤栢次郎

A pianist who studied in France and under Yamada in Japan. Performed both as soloist and as accompanist.

*** MATSUDAIRA, YORITSUNE (1907–2001)**

松平頼則

One of the most influential Japanese composers in the postwar period. Discussed in more detail in Chapters 4.4 and 5.4.

*** MITSUKURI, SHŪKICHI (1895–1971)**

箕作秋吉

A key figure in the founding of Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei. Engineer by main profession. Created a theory of Japanese harmony. Discussed in more detail in Chapters 4.1 and 5.1.

MOROI, SABURŌ (1903–1977)

諸井三郎

An advocate of German-style composition, including modern approaches. Debated on the issue of Japanese-style composition during the latter half of the 1930s.

*** OIDA, KŌKICHI (1902–1964)**

笈田光吉

Pianist and composer, who also studied in Germany. Known primarily as a pianist, who also founded a music school promoting training in absolute pitch.

*** SAITŌ, HIDEO (1902–1974)**

斉藤秀雄

A cellist, conductor, and composer. Studied in Leipzig from 1923 to 1927, and in Berlin from 1930 to 1932. Became an influential figure in the postwar period as an educator for children. Teacher of the prominent conductor Ozawa Seiji.

*** SHIOIRI, KAMESUKE (1900–1938)**

塩入亀輔

A music critic, who was employed as a writer in the journal Furuhaamonii (Philharmonie) and editor-in-chief in Ongaku sekai (World of Music), and as a lecturer at the music school Tōyō ongaku gakkō. Not a professional musician, but took lessons in piano and singing.

*** SUGAWARA, MEIRŌ (1897–1988)**

菅原明朗; also Meireau Sægaharat
A versatile composer interested in traditional Japanese culture.
Discussed briefly in Chapters 4.5 and 5.5

*** SUZUKI, FUMIO (1900–1945)**

鈴木二三雄

A cellist and composer who taught at various music schools. Founder of the Suzuki quartet. Brother of Suzuki Shin'ichi, the inventor of the Suzuki teaching method.
Discussed briefly in Chapter 5.5.

TCHEREPNIN, ALEXANDER (1899–1977)

Алекса́ндр Черепни́н

A Russian composer who resided in Japan from 1934 to 1937.
Influenced the national school of composition and published music by Japanese composers.

YAMADA, KŌSAKU (1886–1965)

山田耕筰; also Kôşçak

One of the most prolific and influential composers of the first half of the twentieth century, and acknowledged as the leading composer of his time. A significant figure as a founder of orchestras in Japan.

*** YAMAMOTO, NAOTADA (1904–1965)**

山本直忠

Composer, conductor and music theorist. Studied in Leipzig from 1922 to 1927. Better-known as an instructor and conductor than as a composer. Served as a teacher in various music schools. Discussed briefly in Chapters 4.5 and 5.5.

APPENDIX 2: Glossary of terms

Aitake. Chords in *gagaku* (ex. 3.4).

Edo period (1603–1868). The period when Japan was shut off from the rest of the world, and when many forms of traditional culture and music were established (e.g. *kabuki* theatre and *koto* music).

Festivities of 1940. Celebration of the mythical 2600th anniversary of the foundation of the Japanese empire.

Gagaku. Court music of Japan; originally a Chinese genre. Established as Japanese court music during the Nara period (710–794).

In and yō scales. Scalar theory proposed by Uehara Rokushirō, and generally accepted in the 1930s (ex. 3.3).

JOAK. Japanese national radio in Tokyo, established in 1925; predecessor of NHK's radio channels.

Jo-ha-kyū. A concept of accelerating tempo met in some genres of traditional music, originating in *gagaku*.

Kindai Nippon sakkyokuka renmei (Modern Composer Federation of Japan). The name that Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was changed to in 1934. Changed again to Nippon gendai sakkyokuka renmei in 1935.

Kokuminshikyoku. A collection of seventeen orchestral works containing influences from Japanese folk songs, commissioned by JOAK in 1938–40.

Koto. A zither-type instrument with 13 strings. Most of the current music for *koto* was composed during the Edo period (1603–1868).

Ma. A concept treating time and space as belonging to the same continuum. Often adopted by postwar composers as “silence as musical material.”

Meiji restoration (1868). A social restoration in which Japan began to adopt Western culture and technology.

Min'yō. Japanese folk songs. One of the tetrachords in traditional music, as defined by Koizumi Fumio, with the interval structure minor third–major second.

Miyakobushi. One of the tetrachords in traditional music, as defined by Koizumi Fumio, with the interval structure minor second—major third. The *miyakobushi* scale is equivalent of the minor *yonanuki* scale and certain *koto* tunings.

Nihonjinron. A discourse underlining Japanese uniqueness. See Chapter 3.3.

Nippon gendai sakkyokuka renmei (Japanese Federation for Contemporary Composers). The name that Shinkō sakkyokuka renmei was changed to in 1935, after another renaming in 1934.

Ongaku konkuruu (Music Competition; today: Nippon ongaku konkuruu). A competition established in 1932.

Ritsu. A mode in *gagaku*. One of the tetrachords in traditional music, as defined by Koizumi Fumio, with the interval structure major second—minor third.

Ryūkyū (Okinawa). The islands far south from the Japanese mainland. One of the tetrachords in traditional music, as defined by Fumio Koizumi, with the interval structure major third—minor second.

Shin Min'yō, “New Folk Songs.” A movement of writing poems and music in the style of traditional folk songs, active from the 1920s to early 1930s.

Shin Nihon Ongaku, “New Japanese Music.” A movement founded in 1920 to compose new works of music for traditional instruments.

Tetrachord. A melodic pattern occurring in traditional music, as defined by Fumio Koizumi. Consists of two tones a fourth apart, and an intermediate tone that decides the type of the tetrachord. The four tetrachords in ascending order of the intermediate tone are: *miyakobushi*, *ritsu*, *min'yō*, and *ryūkyū* (ex. 3.1).

Tōkyō ongaku gakkō. Referred to as **Tokyo Academy of Music** in this study; also **Tokyo School of Music** or **Tokyo Music School**. The first music university in Japan, founded in 1879. Present: Faculty of Music of the Tokyo University of the Arts (Tōkyō geijutsu daigaku).

Yonanuki. A scale created by Isawa Shūji to combine Japanese and Western musical ideas. Literally meaning “omission of the fourth and seventh,” *yonanuki* is a derivation of the Western diatonic scales with the fourth and seventh degrees omitted.

